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CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes avant L'Islamisme, Pendant L'Epoque de Mahomet, et jusqu'à la réduction de toutes les tribus sous la loi Musulmane. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval, Professeur d'Arabe au Collége Royal de France. Trois Tomes. Paris,* 1847—1848.

M. CAUSSIN DE PERCEVAL has, in these volumes, traced the history of the Arabian tribes and States, from the earliest glimmerings of Mahometan tradition, to the period when the whole were united under the banner of Islam. With inconceivable labour, he has thrown together the multitudinous and often discrepant genealogies, and accounts of individuals and of tribes; collating the several steps of various lines, and noting at what points they meet, and where the tradition of events disproves or corroborates the tradition of names. The result of his investigations is exhibited with great ingenuity and clearness, in fifteen tables or genealogical trees, in which the descent of the chief tribes and most famous personages of the Peninsula is traced up, with the approximate era of each generation, to the most remote period for which tradition furnishes authority. These tables add much to the value of the book, for the general reader, whose mind is bewildered with the maze of collateral families and tribes crossing and re-crossing each other's path.

M. C. de Perceval is intimately acquainted with the native historians of Arabia, and with its early poets, whose evidence is of the most essential value in these investigations. He has pursued his enquiries with much learning and singular research,* and, as it appears to us, with extraordinary success.

The first half of his first volume is devoted to the history of Yemen, brought down to the Mahometan invasion; the second half to the rise of Mecca, and the biography of Mahomet, as far as his flight to Medîna. The second volume opens with an extended review of the kingdoms of Hîra and the

* It is much to be regretted that M. C. de Perceval's ignorance of German has prevented his availing himself of the valuable treatises bearing on his subject, lately published in that language. (*Vol. I., Preface, p. vi.*)

Ghassânide dynasty, up to their absorption in the Mahometan Empire; then of the tribes of Central Arabia; and, lastly, of Medîna. The third volume resumes the history of Mahomet, and brings down the progress of Islam to the Caliphate of Omar, and the submission of all the Arab tribes. The work thus [illegible] the subject; but the arrangement is bad, and the thread of narration not unfrequently broken.

"Long temps divisés en fractions, formant autant d'Etats 'différents, de petites Républiques, ou de hordes ennemies les 'unes des autres, les Arabes sont rassemblés en corps par 'Mahomet, et l'unité de la nation achève de se constituer 'sous Omar. Tel est, en résumé, le sujet que j'ai essayé de 'traiter."* In short, the grand object of the work is to trace the process by which the independent and hostile fragments of Arabia became one great and irresistible nation.

We are not aware that the mass of information presented by M. C. de Perceval, in his first two volumes, is anywhere available to the English reader; and we purpose, therefore, to throw it together in as brief a form as may be possible. The reader, to whom the subject is uninviting, now fully forewarned of the nature of what follows, will be able, without farther enquiry, to pass on to a more congenial article; while from those to whom the History of Arabia is one of interest and attraction, we hope to obtain a patient hearing, and pardon for the prolixity, which the detail necessary in such an enquiry may involve.

Arabia is commonly described as a triangular continent, having a right angle at Bâb al-Mandeb; but it is more natural and convenient to consider it as an irregular parallelogram, approaching to rectangular, which (if we detach the province of Omân, projecting towards Persia) it will be found to resemble. A line drawn along the Euphrates, from a point above the ancient Babylon, and skirting the southern shore of the Persian Gulph and the boundary of Omân, till it meets the Indian Ocean, will give the eastern side of our figure: and the corresponding parallel on the west runs from Suez, or from Al Arîsh on the Mediterranean, to the straits of Bâb al Mandeb. Each of these lines stretches over about eighteen degrees of latitude, and extends for a length of 1,300, or 1,400 miles. The northern side, again, is formed by a line drawn from Suez in a north-westerly direction, till it meets the Euphrates, a distance of about 600 miles, and forms the ill-defined boundary

Vol. I., Preface, p. v.

contested between the roving tribes of Arabia, and the sedentary inhabitants of Syria. The southern parallel is the shore washed by the Indian Ocean. The length of this parallelogram lies diagonally across the meridian; and it is broader at the south-western extremity, than on the opposite side, where the Euphrates, by its western bend, narrows the Syrian confine.

Along the western line, washed in nearly its whole extent by the Red Sea, runs a chain of lofty mountains. These take their rise in Syria, and forming the high land to the east of the Dead Sea, sweep south to Mount Sinai, and thence to the straits of Bâb al Mandeb, where they dip into the Indian Ocean, to re-appear on the shores of Africa. The range follows closely the line of the coast, from whence the mariner sees its repulsive rocks of reddish sandstone and porphyry, at times pressing near enough to be laved by the waters of the Red Sea, and at times receding, so as to form a broad margin of low land. The latter is styled the Tehâma.

From the centre of this great chain, is thrown off at right angles a mountain range called the Jebel Ared, which traverses the Peninsula parallel with its northern and southern boundaries. It runs from Tâyif in the vicinity of Mecca, towards Derâyeh and the Persian Gulph, and thus divides Arabia into two equal halves. Another chain, the Jebel Shammâr, runs east and west between the gulph of Akaba and the mouth of the Euphrates; and a third unites the eastern portions of both the lateral ranges. The space between these mountains is comprised in the district of Najd, and forms a vast expanse of lofty country, which abuts upon the grand chain of the Red Sea, and slopes downwards towards the Persian Gulph.

Between Najd and the Red Sea lies the mountainous region of the Hejâz,* which includes both Medîna and Mecca. The main longitudinal range lies here far back from the coast, at a distance perhaps of 100 miles, and is in some places of great elevation; but the interval is filled with mountain chains rising from the shore, one above another, with alternate vales or *Wâdies*, until the granite-crested peaks of the chief range overtop the whole. Here the weary traveller, who has toiled up the ascent, finds to his surprise that, instead of a similar declivity on the other side, he has reached a vast plateau of lofty country, stretching away towards the east.

The southern half of the Peninsula is divided into two parts. The western comprises the hilly but fertile Yemen; and the

* That is "the barrier," as lying between Yemen and Syria; or the frontier between the northern and southern merchants. (*C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 2.—Sprenger's Mohammed, p.* 14.)

perennial streams which here flow into the sea, with the rich corn-fields and plantations of coffee, well entitle it to be called the garden of Arabia. North of Yemen, lie Khaulân, Najrân, and other districts, partaking more or less of the same character. The eastern division, lying between these countries and Omân, is almost unknown (if we except its lofty and precipitous coast,) and is supposed to be entirely desert.

Though Arabia is not greatly inferior in extent to India, yet it does not possess a single navigable river; and, instead of a wide expanse of alluvial cultivation, it exhibits, for the most part, a barren and dreary waste of rock and sand. Most of the rivers lose themselves in the sandy plains, and never reach the sea: but here and there between the hills, the soil is fertilized by the streams or fountains; and the Wâdi or Oasis, contrasting with the wild bleak wilderness around, charms the traveller with an unspeakable freshness and verdure.

The whole of this vast continent has been peopled from time immemorial by the Arab race who, secluded from the rest of the world by their pathless deserts, peninsular position, and peculiar habits, have throughout all ages retained a singular purity from foreign admixture either of blood or manners. Although sacred writ and classical authority give some general intimations as to the colonization and state of the country, yet neither source furnishes us with any detailed history of the central and southern tribes;* and for this object, we are forced back upon the native tradition of Arabia. In a former paper in this *Review* the nature of Arab tradition has been discussed, and it has been shown that as regards genealogical and phylarchal reminiscences, it has peculiar claims upon our belief.†

In the case of the Himyar empire, in the south of Arabia, besides the benefit of such tradition, there is ground for believing that national events were chronicled by inscriptions, and thence incorporated in the traditional accounts of the Arab historians. It is thus that the history of the Himyar dynasty ascends far above that of the Abrahamic tribes, and it therefore demands our first consideration.

The reader has no doubt followed, with interest and curiosity, the successive discoveries which have been made of Himyar inscriptions at Sanâ, Hisn al Ghorâb, Khariba, and Mâreb. These were ancient seats of Himyar rule, and as we are assured that writing was known to the nation, and that the country

* Vide Art. IV. No. XXXVIII.—On the Aboriginal Tribes of Arabia.

† Vide Art. I. No. XXXVII. pp. 42, 43, and (Id.) p. 65.

was far advanced in civilization and opulence, it only corresponds with our natural expectation, that we should find in the neighbourhood permanent memorials of ancient greatness, "graven in the rock with a pen of steel." Notwithstanding many learned and ingenious attempts to unravel these inscriptions, no certain clue has yet been found; and though in some of the words, a resemblance is traced to ancient names in the Himyar dynasty,* the foundation is not broad enough to build any sure theory upon.

We have, however, the indisputable fact, that events of some description, and most likely the names of the ancient kings, were thus chronicled. It is also highly probable that at the time of the Mahometan conquest, there were some of the inhabitants alive, versed in decyphering the Himyar alphabet, and able to communicate the meaning of the inscriptions to the curious enquirer. Thus, although we read nowhere of any Himyarite history of Yemen,† and although the knowledge of the Musnad character became soon extinct, yet it is probable that the early Mahometan writers had the means of deriving from native authority a chronicle of the names, and of some of the acts of the kings of Yemen.

Yet even supposing this authentic source of information, its imperfection is manifest from the doubtful and discrepant character of the details presented to us by the Arab historians. M. C. de Perceval, after incredible pains to reduce them to a uniform history, thus expresses his opinion of "the profound uncertainty" of these accounts.

> Vague tradition, lists of kings discordant one with another, and containing manifest gaps, and interrupted or doubtful genealogies:—such are the documents presented to us by oriental writers. With only feeble elements like these for the construction of a history, there is little ground for the hope of reaching *the truth*. At the best, it may perhaps be not impossible to attain to *what is likely*. Beyond this latter term I do not stretch my pretensions. *(Vol. I. p. 47.)*

These modest pretensions M. C. de Perceval has fully realized.

The first of the Yemen dynasty is the great CAHTAN. In order to calculate the era at which he lived, it is necessary to note the number of generations between him and Dzu Nowâs, the last of the race. They amount, by the Himyar line, as adjusted by M. C. de Perceval, to thirty-nine, which, at thirty-

* See instances given by M. C. de Perceval, *Vol. I. pp*, 90 *and* 111.

† Hamza mentions an ancient history of Yemen: but the meaning no doubt is an ancient *Mahometan* History.

three years to a generation,* give an interval of 1,287 years. Now the birth of Dzu Nowâs may be placed approximatively at 460 A. D.; and thus the birth of Cahtân would be carried back to 827 B. C.

When, however, we follow the descent by another line, that of *Cahlân*,† the brother of Himyar, and also by the separate Himyar line of *Codhâa*,‡ we find only from thirty-three to thirty-six generations between Cahtân and Mahomet; and this would reduce the antiquity of the date by two or three centuries. In favor of the more modern era, there are the uncertainties and discrepancies in the Yemen succession: for it is possible that different and contemporaneous branches have been confused and represented as a continuous line.§ This is the more likely to have occurred, from the yearning of the Mahometan writers after extreme antiquity, and their desire, by protracting the genealogies, to connect them with the Mosaical record.

Whichever line be adopted, we may, with tolerable confidence, place the era of Cahtân between the years 800 B. C. and 500 B. C. It is this Cahtân whom Mahometan writers have identified with Joktân, the sixth from Noah; but the identification is one of those extravagant fictions, which the followers of Islam, in their zeal to accommodate Arab legend to Jewish scripture, have made in defiance of the most violent improbability, and the grossest anachronisms.‖ Cahtân was

* M. C. de Perceval calculates thirty-three years to a generation, excepting where the exact period is known by historical fact or synchronism; but he admits that thirty years would, in general, suffice for an Arab generation. (*Vol. I. p.* 248—*Note* 1.) Sprenger allows three generations to 100 years, but he admits that "this is somewhat too high in ordinary cases," and he adopted the calculation, because some of Mahomet's progenitors were begotten at an advanced age, which raised the average. (*Asiatic Journal, No. CCXXI. p.* 349.)

† See Table II. Vol. I. of M. C. de Perceval.

‡ Idem, Table III.

§ M. C. de Perceval admits, that from the imperfection of his materials he has frequently been obliged to supply the lacunæ in the reigns from the genealogical lines, and *vice versa*. Thus, about the time of Abd Shams II., the 16th prince of the line, there is an admitted gap of several names in the royal line, as we learn by comparing it with the genealogical trees.

On the other hand, the lines of Cahlân and Codhâa were preserved *memoriter*; while that of Himyar was *recorded* in some manner, and in this respect is likely to be more complete.

‖ M. C. de Perceval agrees in this view. "Il ne paraît point que, chez les premières, il est existé aucune tradition nationale relative à la filiation de Cahtân. C'est depuis l'Islamisme seulement, quand les Arabes ont commencé à recueillir les souvenirs de leur histoire, *et à les comparer avec les témoignages de la Bible*, que la plupart des ecrivains orientaux ont identifié Cahtân avec Yectan, fils d' Héber." (*Vol. I. p.* 39.) In the following page, however, he adds, that, though the identity is not demonstrable, it may yet be plausibly entertained, but only on the supposition that a great number of unknown generations intervened between Cahtân and the descen-

succeeded by his son YAROB, who is said to have expelled or destroyed the Adites, and consolidated the empire of Yemen. He gave to his brothers *Omân* and *Hadhramaut* (the story is perhaps a myth,) the government of the two countries, thenceforward called by those names. Yârôb begot Yashjob; and Yashjob, Abd Shams Saba the Great.

ABD SHAMS SABA is said to have been the founder of the city of Mâreb or Saba, represented, by most of the classical writers, under the name of *Mariaba*, as the capital of the Sabeans, and situated upon a mountain. He is also reported by tradition to have constructed or repaired the famous lake-embankment *(Sadd Mâreb)* which was in the vicinity of that city, and the remains of which are apparent at the present day.*

Among the sons of Abd Shams Saba are the two famous partriarchs, HIMYAR and CAHLÂN, the sires (as tradition will have it) of the whole Arab progeny. Their birth, according to the variety of opinion above expressed, may have taken place from 400 to 700 B. C. The pure races from this descent are termed *Mutáriba;* those mixed with supposed Ishmaelite blood, *Mustáriba.*†

The children of Himyar are marked by their comparatively settled habits. They lived chiefly in cities, and acquired the civilized manners and tastes of urban life. The children of Cahlân betook themselves to the free and wandering occupa-

dants reputed as his sons. But it appears to us not only that the identity cannot be proved, but that it cannot be maintained as even possible. It is utterly incredible that the name of Yectan should have survived so many centuries as that of an historical personage, while all else before and after is blank. The dictum of Mahometan tradition on the subject is plainly of no more value than that of any speculator or scriptural harmonist of the present day: nor than that of the Medina party, who represent Cahtân to be a descendant of Ishmael, and therefore to have no connection with Yectan. *(Wackidi, p. 262¼.—C. De Perceval, Vol. I. p. 39.)*

* Others attribute its construction to the Adites—*(C. De Perceval, Vol. I. pp. 16, 53,)* in which case Abd Shams may only have repaired it. In dealing with such remote facts, we cannot do more than conjecture. For an account of the ruins see the interesting *Relation d'un voyage a Mâreb (Sana) dans l'Arabie méridional, entrepris en* 1843. *Par* M. ARNAUD. *(Journal Asiatique, Fevr. Mars.* 1845); and the remarks of *M. Fresnel., Id., September and October,* 1845. The great dam is an hour's distance from Mâreb. *(p. 242.)*

† *See Weil's Mohammed, p. 2; and C. De Perceval Vol. I. p. 7,* where the third (or rather *first*) class given by the Arabs, viz., *Aríba,* is noted as consisting of the ancient aborigines, such as the Amâlica, Adites, Thamûd, Jadis, Tasm:—who, it is held, became extinct; but more likely merged into the more powerful *Mutáriba* and *Mustáriba* tribes. The three words are different forms of the same word عرب.

Yárôb, the name of Cahtân's son, is from the same source. The Arabs may either be really called after an historical character so named; or what is likelier, the character and name may be mythological, symbolizing the received opinion of the descent of the various Arab tribes from a common ancestor, thence styled by them Yárôb.

tions of the Bedouin, scorning the restrictions of place, and the self-imposed wants of a sedentary residence.

A differing speech distinguished the two races. The *Himyarite* was spoken in the towns of Yemen, and was early provided with an alphabet.

The Arabic of the Cahlânite tribes (acquired by their intermixture with the Abrahamic tribes of the north,) did not possess this advantage, apparently, till near the time of Mahomet.* The Bedouins alone cultivated poetry, and they sang only in the Arabic language: we meet with no tradition mentioning a single verse composed in the Himyar tongue.†

From Himyar we may pass over fifteen or twenty reigns, some of which are of doubtful existence, and all characterized by vague and dim description.‡ We then come to that portion of the Himyar line known as the illustrious dynasty of the TOBBAS,§ and enter on a period of greater historical certainty.

* Vide note at page 6, Art I. No. XXXVII. of this Journal.

† The Himyar was, probably, the indigenous tongue of the Yectanide races; but it may have become assimilated with the Abrahamic Arabic from intercourse with the Abrahamic tribes. There are a variety of traditions regarding the prevalence of the two languages in Yemen. (*Cnf. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. pp.* 8, 50, 56, 79.) The Mahometan theories, that all the aborigines (*Ariba*) spoke Arabic, and that *Yárôb* introduced it into Yemen, are evidently grounded on the etymological meaning of the words. A later king is said to have introduced the Himyar tongue into Yemen, *upon* the Arabic, ادخل اللغة الحميريه على اللغة العربيه —as if the Arabic had been the vernacular. But the expression may refer to the court language of Mârcb, which perhaps may have changed at various times.

The fortuitous discovery of Himyar inscriptions, at various places, in a character hitherto unknown, and the felicitous recognition of an Arab MS. on the Himyar alphabet, give hopes that something may hereafter be decyphered from such monuments; but up to this time little more has been identified than a few names, and those uncertainly. The lucubrations of Mr. Forster on this subject are ingenious, but fanciful.

The usual mode of writing is from right to left: but sometimes the *boustrophedon* style is used. The letters are all separate, and the words disjoined by a vertical bar. (*Journal Asiatique, December*, 1838, *and September and October*, 1845—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 79.) The Mahometans do not appear to have known much of the language: some saying that the writing was from left to right; some that the letters were disjoined, others connected. It is possible that there may have been a variety of styles; but the Mahometans are not remarkable for great exactness in such relations.

‡ To illustrate the absurdity of the fictions which abound in the history of this line, we may mention that the Arab writers have invented a story, according to which a Persian king, Menût Shahr Shammir, the grand-son of Himyar, and Moses, are all three made to appear on the same stage! 'Le synchronisme présenté par 'quelques historiens entre Chammir, Moïse, et un roi de Perse, Menoutchehr, ne 'mérite aucune attention. C'est une fausse conjecture, qui prend sa source dans 'l'idée très exagérée que se font les Arabes de l'antiquité des souverains du Yaman, 'dont on a conservé les noms." (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 56.)

§ The origin of the name is doubtful. Some apply it to all Harith's successors, others to those only of them who ruled over the *entire* empire of Yemen, and did not divide its sovereignty with others. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 64.) Their royal residences were successively Mârcb or Saba, Tzafâr, and Sana. Between the second and third centuries there were three renowned "Tobbas," known by that name *par excellence*.

HARITH AL RAISH, or AL FILSUF "the philosopher," supposed to have flourished about a century before Christ, is termed the first of the Tobbas. He re-invigorated the Empire, and restored to his single sceptre a variety of the kingdoms which had fallen under princes of the Cahlân stock.*

The successor of Harith was ESSAB DZU-L-CARNAIN, or "the Horned." The surname is that which the Arabs accord to Alexander the Great, and which is connected in the *Coran* with some strange legends, especially with the construction in the north of the prodigious rampart of *Yajûj* and *Majûj*.† The marvel-loving historians of Arabia have not been slow to follow up the clue. Some have identified Essâb at once as the hero of the *Coran*, and as the great Alexander; while others hold that he was a monarch contemporary with Abraham.‡

The third monarch from Essâb is styled by the foreign name of AFRICUS or AFRIKIN. He, probably, flourished about half a century before our era. The name, as usual, has suggested a variety of wild stories. Some allege that this king located in Africa the Amalekites, who escaped from Joshua, and who there grew up into the Berber nation: others, that his exploits *against* the Berbers procured him his distinctive title. The reigning prince of the day, in Africa, was Jirjir, or Gregory;§ a strange contemporary indeed for Joshua!

* M. C. de Perceval thinks that the Yemen empire may have become known as the *Himyar* from this date. The first mention of it in classical authors under that appellation, is by Strabo, regarding the expedition of Aelius Gallus; and he finds it difficult otherwise to account for such silence. But it would be still more difficult to believe that the name of Himyar was revived, and after the abeyance of so many centuries, became the distinguishing title of the kingdom of his remote descendants.

† (*Coran XVIII.*, 85 *et seq.*) This fabulous wall has been identified with fortifications near the Caspian Sea, made, as they say, by Alexander, and repaired by Yezdegird II. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 66.) Whatever Alexander may have done to stop the inroads of the barbarians, the Arab legend is too wild to be seriously connected with them. It may, however, have originated in some grand construction or work by Alexander, the account of which may have reached the Arabs greatly magnified, and which, in their hands, would grow apace.

‡ Yet the ancestor of one of these parties was but just now represented as contemporary with the remote descendant of the other: *i. e.*, Shammir, the thirteenth or fourteenth in ascent from Essâb as contemporary with Moses! Such is Mahometan criticism and chronology.

§ M. C. de Perceval is of opinion that the Mahometan writers have here confounded their idea of some ancient African Prince, with Gregory the Patrician, who commanded in Africa, when invaded by Othmân. He well adds; "On voit là un exemple de peu de scrupule avec lequel l'ignorance de quelques écrivains orientaux rapproche les temps les plus éloignés." (*Vol.* I. *p.* 68.)

M. C. de Perceval has an ingenious theory that Africus may have been employed by Cæsar in the war against Juba, and thence connected in name with Africa. In the battle of Actium, the Arabs of Yemen are said to have fought for Antony, and to have fled with Cleopatra.

Omnis Arabs, omnes vertebant terga Sabæi. (*Æneid*, VIII. 706.)

Is it not more likely that he made hostile incursions into the Roman dependencies in Africa: and that these may, in some manner, be connected with the Roman expedition of Aelius Gallus, which followed shortly after.

To Africus succeeded his brother DZU-L-ADZAR, to whose reign attach a tissue of imbecile legends. Caycaus, King of Persia, attacked him, but was taken prisoner; he was subsequently liberated by the famous Rustam, and returned to his kingdom, after marrying the daughter of Dzu-l-Adzâr.* M. C. de Perceval has ingeniously surmised, that these facts may contain an allusion to an invasion from an opposite quarter; for it was somewhere about this period that Aelius Gallus, after having taken *Negranes*, or *Negra* (Najrân,) attacked, and was repulsed from, *Marsyaba*, (*Mariaba* or Mâreb,) a city belonging to the Yemenites,† who were then governed by *Ilasare*. The name of Ilasare, he recognizes in that of Dzu-l-Adzâr; but the appellation of this prince's son and successor, ALEISHRA or LEISHRA, appears to have a more close resemblance to that of Strabo's Yemen chief. Our author's table makes Aleishra, (who was also called SHURAHBIL, and YAHSAB,) to have been born 68 B. C., or forty-four years before the Roman invasion, so that he is likely to have taken a part in the Arab defence.

The reader will not fail to observe that the Arab histories contain no farther clue to this memorable inroad of the Roman army. Yet it was a circumstance which, from its unprecedented novelty, from the lasting marks of devastation, and from the glory acquired in the repulse, was likely, above all other events, to have lodged itself in the national mind and tradition. The story of 2,000 years, though possessing often little interest, is told with freshness and circumstantiality, while this most striking and remarkable of all other events, is, after a lapse of five or six centuries, unnoticed and unknown!

The grand-daughter of Aleishra was the famous Queen BALKIS, who must have flourished during the first century of the Christian era; and her history furnishes even a stronger example of the illusory nature of remote Mahometan tradition. She is held to have been no less a personage than the veritable Queen of Sheba, who visited Solomon, the son of David, a thousand years before! Her mother is said to have been one of the genii; but it would be unprofitable to enter into a detail of the extravagant legends related of this person-

* M. C. de Perceval traces the legend to a poetical fiction in Ferdûsi. "Si l'on ' en recherche l'origine, on s'aperçoit, q'une vague tradition, ou peut-être une pure ' fiction *présentée sous des formes indécises par le poëte Firdauci, qui florissait ' trois siècles après l'hégire, a été arbitrairement arrangée par des écrivains postérieurs sous les traits précis d'un fait historique.* Firdauci avait chanté une expé- ' dition de Caycaous contre le roi de Hâmâwerân, pays inconnu, fantastique, dont ' on a fait l'Arâbie Heureuse. Le poëte n'avait pas nommé ce roi: on a imaginé ' que c'était Dhou-l-Adhâr." (*Vol.* I. *p.* 72.) He then shows that the Mahometan historians are utterly ignorant of the real history of Persia at the period supposed.

† In the original 'Ραμανίτων, but conjectured by M. Fresnel, with some likelihood, to be a mistake for 'Ιαμανίτων.

age, and which have received some countenance even in the *Coran*. It is remarkable that Mahomet there represents her people as addicted to the worship of the Sun.*

Two more successions bring us to TOBBA AL AKRAN, in whose reign occurred the celebrated secession of the *Azdites*, a people descended from the stock of Cahlân. This tribe, under the command of two brothers, Omrân and AMR MOZAIKIA,† appear to have become independent of the Himyarites, and made themselves masters of Mâreb. Omrân died, but not (so goes the legend,) without giving his brother some intimation of a dire calamity impending over the land. The wife of Amr followed up the monition by an ominous vision: she bade him go to the embankment of the lake, and if he should see a rat scraping the mound, and detaching huge stones, she prognosticated a speedy and inevitable ruin. He went and saw the fatal sign. Thus warned, Amr Mozaikia made immediate preparations to emigrate; and set out northward with the greatest portion of his tribe. Shortly after their departure, the embankment rent asunder, and the flood escaping with devastating fury, spread destruction in its path.

In a former paper we have seen good grounds for believing that a cause of far greater depth and extent had long been at work, paving the way for this emigration. The drying up of the Yemen commerce, and stoppage of the carrying trade, had, no doubt, disorganized society, and, perhaps, led to the rebellion of the Azdites, and their seizure of Mâred. The threatened breach of the dam may have accelerated the crisis, and given the last impulse to an over-burdened and necessitous population, eager already to go in quest of a livelihood in a

* See *Sura* XXVII. 24 *et seq.* She is also styled by tradition Balcama or Yalcama; but no name is given in the *Coran*, where she is simply described as the Queen of Saba.—"Mais les interprètes, ne trouvant pas dans la liste des souverains du Yaman, 'conservée par la tradition, de reine plus ancienne que Belkis, n'ont pas hésité à dé-'clarer que c'était elle qui avait fait le voyage de Jérusalem. Leur sentiment a été 'pieusement adopté par les chroniqueurs, et cette opinion, accrédit 'tion et l'ignorance, est probablement, la cause principale qui a 'toriens de classer les rois du Yaman suivant un ordre chronologiqu (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 77.)

We would not however call this the "principal cause," for the departure of the Mahometan historians from a reasonable chronology. Their appetite for ancient dates had a far more important source. They longed to complete the chain of legendary tradition by connecting Adnân with Ishmael, and Cahtân with the Joktan of the Mosaical record. The absurd antiquity thus imparted to modern names attached likewise to this Queen, and they were then free to deal with her as they pleased. The motive of identifying Belkis with the Queen of Sheba, is not of itself a sufficient one for the unsettlement of the chronology.

† He is called *Mozaikia*, they say, from daily "rending" the garment of yesterday which he always replaced by a new one: but more likely from "rending" the Azdites from their ancient settlements. But who can tell the thousand and one incidents from which a soubriquet may arise?

less straitened country. The migration took place about the year 120 A. D.*

Yemen, thus relieved of part of its surplus inhabitants, probably regained rapidly its prosperity, notwithstanding the ravages of the flood. Tobba• al Akran soon recovered his authority. He is renowned as a great warrior; and is said to have carried his arms to the borders of China.

The fourth in succession from Tobba al Akran, was TIBBAN ASAD, ABU CARIB, who flourished about the beginning of the third century of our era, one of the most illustrious of the Tobbas.† His name is connected with Yathreb or Medîna; for the inhabitants of that place having murdered his son, whom he committed to their custody, when on an expedition towards Persia, he attacked their city, and threatened them with his vengeance. But two Jewish doctors of the Bani Coreitza, then resident at Medîna, having brought him over to Judaism, diverted him from his design by foretelling, as is pretended, that Yathreb would become the refuge of the great prophet that was to arise in Arabia. At their instance, he visited and enriched the Kaaba as the shrine of Abraham, and was the first to adorn it with a covering of cloth. On his return to Yemen, he introduced there the Jewish religion; the idolaters contested the change, and appealed to the trial by fire; but they were miraculously confuted by the two Jewish doctors. Judaism did not, however, gain any important extension in Yemen, till the reign of Dzu Nowâs, and even to the era of Islam it had to contend against idolatry.

The details of the Medîna expedition are much complicated by two circumstances. The same adventure is attributed by various writers to Hassân Tobba the Less, who flourished

* It is important to fix the chronology of this salient point in the history of Arabia. The Mahometan writers agree in placing the event between our Saviour and Mahomet, some six, some four, centuries prior to Islam. The Azdite genealogies, (such as those of the Aws and Khazraj of Medina,) combine to place the birth of Amr Mozaikia about five centuries before that of Mahomet. These considerations combine to place the emigration somewhere about 120 A. D. M. C. de Perceval thinks that the great prosperity ascribed to Mâreb by Strabo and Pliny, argues that the calamity of the dam was posterior to the Christian era. We should draw the same conclusion rather from the fact that the altered stream of commerce would, probably, not have worked out its baneful effect upon the Yemen state, till after the Christian era.

M. de Sacy conjectures, that the insecurity of the dam was not the real cause of the emigration; but was invented by the later Azdites, to cover one less honorable, perhaps, fear of defeat from Tobba al Akran. But the view we have given appears more natural.

† The author of the *Periplus* mentions *Caribaël* as reigning at Zhafâr. This is supposed to have been about 200 A. D. Caribael may either have been this Abu *Cariba-al* Himyari, or his father Calay *Cariba-al* Himyari. (*C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 90.)

about a century after Tibbân Asâd; while, in many important particulars, it is confounded with another attack, which was made upon Medîna, by a sovereign of Yemen, at least three centuries after Tibbân Asâd, and the memory of which was yet recent in the time of Mahomet.*

After Tibbân Asâd, there is a break in the Himyar line: for a prince called RABIA, of the *Cahlânite* stock, and *Bani Lakhm* tribe, succeeded to him. The following characteristic legend is cherished by the Mahometans regarding Rabia. He was affrighted by a portentous dream, and the diviners were summoned; but, as in the case of Nebuchadnezzar, they could not tell the interpretation, until the dream should be made known to them. At last two diviners were introduced, each of whom separately narrated to the king both his dream and its signification. *Thou sawest a flame burst forth from the darkness; and it fell upon the land of Tihâma, and devoured every living thing.* This was the Abyssinians, who, they foretold, would overrun Yemen from Aden to Najrân, and rule for above seventy years; after that, they would be overthrown, and would be succeeded by an inspired prophet of the Coreishite stock, to whose rule all Arabia would submit, and whose law would prevail till the day of judgment. The prince, terrified by the threat of the Abyssinian invasion, sent off his family and adherents to Irâc. This emigration took place early in the third century. We shall see by-and-bye, that from Adi, one of Rabia's sons, sprang the *Lakhmite* dynasty of Hîra.†

* The two expeditions are so confounded, that many of the names belonging to the modern attack (as that of Ohaiha, who lived in the 6th century,) are introduced by a patent anachronism into the ancient adventure. The later expedition will be farther considered, when we come to Medîna.

With reference to the ancient attack, the fact of the Aws and Khazraj being then at Yathreb (if it be a *bonâ fide* fact, and not borrowed from the modern expedition,) would argue for its having occurred under the reign of Hassân Tobba the Less, and not under that of Tibbân Asâd Abu Carib: because those tribes did not settle at Medîna till about 800 A. D., or a century after the reign of the latter prince. On the other hand, the introduction of Judaism into Yemen, if really, as represented, a result of the present adventure, would favour the earlier date: because there is reason for thinking that Judaism was known there before 300 A. D.

The whole story is given at length by *Hishâmi, pp. 7 et. seq*, and is common among the Mahometan historians. The reader will not fail to observe the ridiculous "foreshadowing" of Mahomet's flight to Medîna. (*See Journal Asiatique, November*, 1838, *p.* 444.) Two valuable papers by M. PERRON, in that and the previous number, may be consulted by the student, who wishes to see, in greater detail, the accounts of the Mahometan historians on the subject. (*See also M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 91, and *Vol.* II. *p.* 647.)

† (*See Hishâmi, p. 5, and M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *pp.* 96—100.) The latter, with reason, regards the prophecy to be a fabrication, and intended to cover a less reputable cause of emigration, perhaps fear of the arms of the Yemen monarch, against whom, in the capacity of vassal, he had rebelled. The Mahometan anxiety to discover or to fabricate *foreshadowings* of the coming Prophet, may have worked together with this motive.

On Rabia's death, the kingdom reverted to the son of Tibbân Asâd, HASSAN TOBBA, during whose reign, in the first half of the third century, a farther emigration took place northward. The *Bani Tay*, a Cahlânite family, isolated since the departure of their neighbours, the Azdites, and like them, we conclude, suffering from the effects of the great commercial change, migrated likewise, and finally took up their position in the mountains of Ajâ and Salmâ, to the north of Najd and the Hejâz.

About four successions later, we find, towards the close of the third century, a Christian king of Yemen, called ABD KELAL. He is said to have been converted by a Syrian stranger, whom the Himyarites, enraged at their Prince's defection, murdered. This is the first special intimation we meet with of Christianity in Yemen, and as it is attributed to a foreign source, there would appear to have been no indigenous or hereditary profession of it there.

The next prince was HASSAN TOBBA AL ASGHAR, or *the Younger*, styled *the last of the Tobbas*, to whom is attributed, by Hishâmi and other writers, the attack upon Medîna, mentioned above. He reigned about 300 A. D.; and Arab historians speak of a treaty concluded between him and the Meccan tribe. From this time we have frequent proof of the dependence of the central tribes upon the Himyar kingdom; this influence was ever and anon interrupted by hostilities, and as often, after short intervals, renewed.

The next prince, MARTHAD, son of Abd Kelâl, is famed for his wise and moderate views upon religious toleration. He used to say, "*I reign over men's bodies, not over their opinions. I 'exact from my subjects obedience to my government; as to their 'religious doctrines, the judge of them is the Great Creator.*" During this exemplary reign, an interesting embassage appeared in the capital of Yemen, sent by the Emperor Constantius, to strengthen his alliance with the Himyarites, and to attract them to Christianity. At its head was the Indian Bishop Theophilus, who presented to "the prince of the Sabæans or Homerites," among other royal gifts, "two hundred horses of the purest breed of Cappadocia," and sought permission to erect churches for the subjects of the Roman Emperor, attracted thither by merchandize, and for those of the natives who wished to embrace the religion of Jesus. And so far the mission was successful: for three churches were built, one at Tzafâr, the royal residence; another at Aden, the point of traffic with India; and a third at the chief maritime town on the Persian gulph. Theophilus flattered himself, that he had even

converted the Himyar monarch; but for this he probably mistook what was no more in reality than a latitudinarian and tolerant philosophy.* It is certain that Arab history makes no mention either of this mission or of its effects.

Philostorgius informs us that the inhabitants of Yemen consisted at that time, partly of Jews and partly of Pagans. The latter, though the most numerous, practised the rite of circumcision, like the Jews, on the eighth day. They also sacrificed to the sun and the moon, and to other divinities, several of whose names we learn from Arab writers.

After the death of Marthad, the Yemen Empire began to decline, and its subordinate rulers to throw off the yoke of dependence. This disorganization may, perhaps, have arisen from unsuccessful wars with the Abyssinian kingdom, for about the middle of the 4th century, the sovereign of Axum (between the Red Sea and the Nile) joined to his other titles that of *king of the Himyarites.*†

To such troubles we may probably attribute the brevity, and in some respects uncertainty, of the history of Yemen for a long series of years. The Himyar dynasty, however, still maintained its supremacy over the tribes of Najd and the Hedjâz; and about the middle of the fifth century gave them a king or viceroy, called Hojr Akil al Morâr, of the *Kinda* tribe.‡

Towards the end of the 5th century the empire was usurped by a dissolute person styled Dzu Shenâtir. He was abhorred of the people for his flagitious deeds, which he carried to such an extreme as to dishonour the youths of most noble families; but one of these, rather than submit to his indignities, put an end to the tyrant's life. This youth, called DZU NOWAS, belonged to the royal stock, and was unanimously called to the throne. During his reign (490—525 A. D.) there were several encounters between the Kinda viceroy, backed by Yemen troops, and the tribes of central Arabia. The latter, though repeatedly victorious, always returned again after a time to their allegiance. The Himyar dynasty thus maintained its Arabian influence until overthrown by the Abyssinians, when the feudal autho-

* (*M. C. de Perceval, p.* 112.— *Philostorgius Hist. Eccles., l.* III., *ch.* 4—6.) Gibbon gives a brief account of this embassy. (*Decline and Fall, ch.* XX.) Philostorgius wrote his work in the first half of the 5th century.

† *M. C. de Perceval,* I. *p.* 114. The Greek inscription at Axum, discovered by Salt, notices these titles as appertaining to the Axumite monarch Aeïzanas. See the description of Axum, between Meröe and the sea-port Adule, in *Heeren's Res. Africa, Vol.* I. *p.* 460, *&c.*

‡ Sabbah, who reigned over Yemen, 440 to 460 A. D., made a tour of Najd, to assure himself of the submission of the tribes of Central Arabia. (*M. C. de Perceval,* I. *p.* 116.)

rity over the Arabs passed into the hands of the Prince of Hîra, the vassal of Persia.

Dzu Nowâs was a votary of Judaism, which he is said to have embraced on a visit to Medîna.* However this may have been, it is certain that he supported the creed with an intolerant and proselytizing adherence, which at last proved fatal to his kingdom. His bigotry was aroused by the prevalence and success of Christianity in the neighbouring province of Najrân, which he invaded with a large army. The Christians offered a strenuous resistance, but yielded at length, on the treacherous promise that no ill would be done to them. They were offered the choice of Judaism or of death, and those who remained constant to the faith of Jesus were cruelly massacred. Deep trenches were dug, and filled with combustible materials; the pile was lighted, and the Christian Martyrs cast headlong into the flame. The number thus miserably burned or slain by the sword, is stated at no less than twenty thousand.†

However exaggerated this melancholy carnage, there can be no doubt as to the bloody and tyrannical nature of the administration of Dzu Nowâs in Najrân. News of these proceedings reached the Emperor Justin I. through his ambassador at Hîra, to which court the Tyrant had exultingly communicated the tidings of his triumph.‡ One of the intended victims, Dous Dzu Tholabân, also escaped to Constantinople, and holding up a Gospel half burnt by the persecutor, invoked in the name of outraged Christendom, retribution upon the oppressor. The emperor was moved, and indited a despatch to the Najâshi, or prince of the Abyssinians, desiring him to take vengeance upon the barbarous Himyarite. Immediately an armament was set on foot, and in a short time 70,000 warriors embarked in thirteen hundred merchant ships and transports,§ and crossed the

* Hamza states that having visited Medîna, one half of the inhabitants of which were then Jews, Dzu Nowâs was so well pleased with their religion, that he embraced it. But as M. C. de Perceval shows (*Vol.* I. *p.* 122,) it is much more likely that he became a Jew through the influence of the powerful and long established party in Yemen: and that he visited Medîna in order to succour the Jews against the oppressive attacks of the Aws and Khazraj. This agrees with the history of Medîna, and is in excellent keeping with the sectarian bias which led Dzu Nowâs to the attack of Najrân.

† *M. C. de Perceval*, I. *p.* 129, *Hishami*, *p.* 14. The details are briefly given by Gibbon at the close of the XLII. Ch. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: and the subject is alluded to in the Coran, Sura LXXXV. v. 4, *et seq.*, where *Ashâb al Okhdûd*, are those who perished in the trenches.

‡ We gather this from the Greek historians. The Arabs only tell us of the suppliant Dous, whom the Greeks do not mention.

§ The number of the force as given by the Arabs is probably exaggerated. An ecclesiastical work mentions that 600 Roman merchantmen were employed on the occasion by the Abyssinian monarch: he had also 700 light transports. The Greek authorities state that the emperor wrote to the Patriarch of Alexandria to stir up the

narrow gulph which separates Adulis fron Yemen. Dzu Nowâs was defeated, and, having in despair urged his horse into the sea, expiated in the waves the inhumanities of his career. The Abyssinian victory occurred in 525 A. D.*

The army was commanded by Aryât, who reigned over Yemen as the viceroy of the Najâshi. But another Abyssinian Chief, named Abraha, who had accompanied the expedition, rebelled against Aryât, and having slain him in single combat, succeeded to the Government. Abraha was a zealous Christian; and the efforts of Gregentius, a Bishop deputed by the Patriarch of Alexandria to follow up the secular by a spiritual conquest, were seconded by him with more energy than judgment. He built at Sanâ a magnificent Cathedral, and professed himself desirous that the pilgrimage of the Arab tribes should be diverted to this temple from that of Mecca. It is alleged that he published an order to that effect, and sent Missionaries throughout Arabia, calling upon the Arabs to make the new pilgrimage. The Meccans were displeased, and killed one of his emissaries; while a Coreishite had the audacity to defile the precincts of the Christian edifice. Enraged at such opposition, Abraha set out with an army to destroy the Kaaba; but he perished in the expedition. This attack, famous in the annals of Mecca, as that *of the elephant*, occurred in the year 570 A. D., and within two months of the birth of Mahomet.

The history of Yemen becomes now more detached from the rest of Arabia. The Abyssinian rule was distasteful to the natives, and a Himyarite of the royal house, named Saif, whether impelled by the tyranny of the invaders, or by the hope of succeeding to the throne of his ancestors, sought for foreign aid, first fruitlessly at the Court of Constantinople, and then at that of the Persian king. From the latter, Mádicarib, son of the original suppliant, at last obtained an order to empty the prisons of such of their inmates as were

Negus or King of Axume, to avenge the massacre of his fellow Christians in Najran. This king is styled among the Arabs by the hereditary title of Najâshi, which is another form of Negus. The then prince is called by the Grecians Elesbaas (Atzbeha:) and by the Ethiopians Caleb or Amda. The former was probably his baptismal name. *M. C. de Perceval*, I. 131.

* Some Syrian and Greek writers place the Abyssinian conquest, as well as the massacre in Najrân, within the year 523 A. D. In Assemani (I. 364,) is given a letter of the Bishop Simeon, stating that tidings of the conquest of Najrân reached the king of Hira early in Feb. 524: it therefore occurred about the close of 523. Allowing time for the intervening events and preparations, the defeat of Dzu Nowâs cannot well be placed earlier than the beginning of 525 A. D. (*M. C. de Perceval, p.* 133.)

fit for war; and with an army of armed convicts, he embarked in eight ships, six of which safely reached the port of Aden. The Persian and Abyssinian armies met, and Wahraz, the convict chief, decided the struggle, by killing Masrûk the Abyssinian viceroy. This happened about 575 A. D.*

In the person of MADICARIB, who was installed as the ruler of Yemen and the vassal of the Persian king, the Himyar dynasty appeared again to re-appear. The Arab tribes sent deputations to congratulate him on the auspicious occasion, and among them is reported Abd al Mottalib, the grand-father of Mahomet; but the story is accompanied by so many gross anticipations of the Prophet, as to involve it altogether in suspicion.†

There is reason to believe, that the Abyssinians still maintained a struggle with the resuscitated Himyar government, and were not finally subdued till the year 597. Then, after having maintained themselves for seventy-two years, they were effectually crushed by a second Persian army, under the same Wahraz, and Yemen became a Persian dependency.

But a few years wrought a mighty change in the destinies of Arabia; and Badzân, one of the early successors of Wahraz, is said to have given in his adhesion to Islam, while Mahomet was yet alive.

We shall now trace the rise and history of two kingdoms in the north of Arabia, both of which, Arab in their origin, exercised a constant and important influence upon the Peninsula. These are the states of *Hîra and Ghassân*

These kingdoms took their rise, subsequent to the Christian era, in the migratory impulse which, as we have previously seen, led numerous tribes to move northward from Yemen, and transplant themselves from the shores of the Indian sea, in some instances, even to those of the Mediterranean, or the banks of the Euphrates. The emigration of the AZDITES, an extensive tribe, descended from Cahlân, the brother of Himyar, has been traced above to about the year 120 A. D.‡ One portion of them moved eastward towards Omân; the other passed northward through Najrân and the Hedjâz, to

* The account of these events is given in detail by *Hishâmi, p.* 19 *et seq.—M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* I. *p.* 146 *et. seq.*

† Weil objects to the story upon chronological grounds; but his objections appear to be removed by the explanation of M. C. de Perceval, who makes the Abyssinians to receive the *first* check and overthrow in *575*, but not to be *finally* expelled till *597*. (*Weil's Mohammed, p.* 8, *note* 1.)

‡ See above, p. 12.

Syria, but left many off-shoots by the way, some of which commingled with the Bedouin tribes of Najd, while others settled at Mecca and Medîna, and played a prominent part in their subsequent history.

The CODHAITE tribe, a race descended from Himyar,* inhabited Mahra, a country to the east of Aden, where they were ruled by their own kings. It was probably before the Azdites, that this people, pressed by the Yemen monarchy, and labouring, as we infer, from the difficulties caused by the great commercial change, migrated to the neighbourhood of Mecca. There they fell out with the Meccan tribes, and finally dispersed themselves in various directions. The *Bani Aslam* settled north of Medîna in the valley of Wadi-al-Cora: the *Bani Kalb* in Dûmat-al-jandal, on the Syrian border: the *Bani Salîh* on the east of Palestine: the *Bani Yazîd*, in Mesopotamia: and the *Taym Allât*, in Bahrein. The dispersion took place towards the close of the second century.

About the same time, the BANI JYAD and other off-sets of the famous Meccan tribe† (the ancestors of the Coreish,) spread themselves eastward in the Peninsula.

From each of these sources, certain bands of Azdite, Codhâite, and Meccan Arabs wandered towards Bahrein, where, opposed in their eastward progress by the Persian Gulph, they combined together about the year 190 A. D., and guided by the coast and by the Southern bank of the Euphrates, alighted upon the site of HIRA, a few miles north-west of the site of the more modern Cufa. There, attracted by the rich and well-watered vicinity, the strangers took up their abode, and about A. D. 200, laid the foundations of the city. The Arsacide monarchy was then crumbling under revolt and disastrous war, and the young colony, swelled by needy adventurers and desperate refugees from Arabia, grew unmolested and rapidly into an important state. Another city, not far distant from Hîra, called Anbâr, was either founded, or having been previously in existence, was taken possession of, by the Arabs.‡

* Some hold that Codhâa was descended from Maadd, the Ishmaelite ancestor of Mahomet, and that his posterity, having settled in Yemen, became confounded with that of Himyar. But the legend is unlikely, and was probably concocted from the desire of the Codhâites to participate in the sacred descent from Ishmael. It shows, however, how uncertain is Mahometan tradition of remote events. *(M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p 207.)*

† By the *Meccan* tribe, we designate the ancestors of the Coreish running up to Adnân, and those of their descendants who remained attached to Mecca.

‡ By some the establishment of this town has been referred back to the time of Nebuchadnezzar II., who is said to have left here the captives carried off in his inroad into Arabia. But this is a mere hypothesis of the Arab historians, who are very expert in imagining such causes for the origin of towns and kingdoms. Another

We have reason to believe that at first there was both an Azdite and a Codhâite chief, the former at Anbâr, the latter at Hîra. The rule of MALIK the Azdite (A. D. 195—215,) was terminated by his son, who in the darkness mistook him for an enemy, and killed him by an arrow. As the father was dying he repeated these touching lines ;—

* اعلمه الرمايه كل يوم * فلما اشتد ساعده رماني

"Daily I instructed him in the art of shooting,
And when his arm became strong, he turned against me his bow."

This incident is noted to show with what detail, even at that remote period, the history of Hîra has been preserved. As we advance, the detail becomes greater and more certain. The position of Hîra, closely influenced by the adjoining empire of Persia, and on the highway to Syria, induced an early civilization and acquaintance with letters. Arab poets frequented the court of Hîra, and their effusions were prized and preserved. Thus there was abundant opportunity, both of public archive and of poetical record ; and as these were conveyed down to the era of Islam, the history of this kingdom deserves our confidence.

The parricide fled to Omân, and another son, JODZEIMA, succeeded to the Government. During his reign (205—268 A. D.,) the Sassanide dynasty of Persia arose in strength upon the ruins of the Arsacide. The Codhâite chief, with his Bedouin followers, spurned the claims of Persia upon their allegiance, and departed to Syria. Thus Jodzeima and the Azdite party were left in undivided possession of Hîra, which, with its Arab tribes,* became the willing vassal of the Persian king.

Jodzeima made frequent incursions into Arabia, and in one of them was overtaken and beaten by the army of the Himyar monarch, Hassân Tobba. But his greatest and most continued efforts were directed against the Arab allies of the Roman Empire in Syria.

As Persia claimed Hîra and the eastern tribes, so Rome assumed for her allies or retainers the Arabs of Western Syria ;

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theory is that Tibbân Asâd Abu Carib, king of Yemen, left here his invalid soldiers ; but his expedition did not take place till about 235 A. D.,—a considerable time after the foundation both of Hîra and Anbâr. The question is not one of much importance. The main point is undoubted, viz., that the kingdom of Hîra originated in an *Arab* colony.

* These consisted of three classes. I. The *Ibâd*, or inhabitants of Hîra and its environs. II. The *Tonûkhites*, or Arabs (Bedouin,) who had immigrated from Arabia into the neighbouring country. III. The *Ahlaf*, their allies. The two latter dwelt in tents, and lived a nomad life on the pasture lands adjoining the Euphrates.

and in the struggle between the empires, these two divisions of the Arab clan were wont to fight on their respective sides. Thus rivalry and frequent warfare sprang up, fomented by the private enmities of the Arabs themselves, and often receiving singular illustration in the pages of Roman history.

It was after the middle of the second century, according to the Arab authorities, that the Roman Emperor (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus,) invested the chief of the Bani Samayda, *Odenath* or *Odzeina*, with the sovereignty of Syrian Arabia. The third or fourth in descent from him was *Amr*, son of Tzarib, whose kingdom extended to the Euphrates, and embraced a portion of Mesopotamia. He waged war, in the middle of the third century, with various success, against Jodzeima, king of Hîra, by whom he was at length killed, (260—270 A. D.) His widow, (or according to some his daughter) *Zebbâ*, avenged the death of Amr by inviting Jodzeima, under pretence of marriage, to her capital, and there murdering him. The Arab annals abound with marvellous tales of Zebba. She possessed a tunnel underneath the Euphrates, and on either bank a fortress, one commanded by herself, the other by her sister Zeinab. Her summer residence was Tadmor, or Palmyra. The successor of Jodzeima (Amr, son of Adi) resolved to revenge his death, and by a stratagem introduced into her citadel 2,000 warriors concealed as merchandize in as many bags hung across the backs of camels. Taken by surprise, Zebba fled to her river fortress, and, having in vain endeavoured to escape by one or the other, destroyed herself by a subtle poison which she always carried in a ring.* With Zebba, the dynasty of Odzeina fell into obscurity.

These details leave little doubt of the identity of Septi-

* Her speech on this occasion بيدي لا بيد ابن عدي "*Let me fall by my own hand, not by the hand of the son of Adi!*" is proverbial. So also the proverb— انفة لامر ما جدع قصير "*It was for an important end Cusseir cut off his nose:*"—refers to the stratagem by which Cusseir, the minister of Adi, ingratiated himself with Zebba, representing that he had fled from the cruelty of Adi's son, who had mutilated his nose. He became her merchant, and introduced the soldiers in the manner stated above, as a new investment of goods. (*M. C. de Perc.*, II. *p.* 38.) The whole of these circumstances, with many fabulous adjuncts, will be found in *Price's Essay on Arabia antecedent to Mohammed, chapter* IV. (which is a more compilation of Persian histories.)

It is evident that these proverbs must have taken their rise in the events related, or in the popular tradition of them. But such is not the case with the great majority of the proverbs reported by M. C. de Perceval, as originating in special events or speeches: these are mostly of a general nature, and having nothing personal about them, are equally applicable to many different occasions. Thus, "*Sweet honey in a bad jar*" (II. *p.* 651,) and "*After disarming comes captivity, and after captivity death,*" (*Ibid, p.* 578,) would apply to a thousand different circumstances.

mius Odenathus, and his wife Zenobia of classic fame, with the Amr and Zebba of Arabic history. The family of Odenath, honoured with many immunities, and illustrated by the royal surname of Septimius Severus, revolted against Rome, and about the middle of the third century declared Palmyra an independent Government. Septimius Odenath, after hesitating betwixt the allegiance of Rome and Persia, and on the captivity of Valerian inclining towards Sapor, at length entered upon a decisive struggle with Persia, and in several engagements having covered himself with glory, vanquished the Persian armies and ravaged Mesopotamia. By artful movements in a critical period of civil discord, he rendered essential service to the Emperor Gallienus, and was elevated as his colleague to the imperial purple. He was assassinated at Emessa (A. D. 267) by his nephew Mæonius.* But Zenobia killed the murderer, and after a short but splendid reign, and opposition far from contemptible to the Roman army, she fled from Palmyra, and was made prisoner as she reached the Euphrates (273 A. D.). It can hardly be doubted that the Arabs and the Romans have styled the same hero by different appellations—the former by his proper name of *Amr*, the latter by his patronymic *Odenath*. As little need we hesitate in recognizing Zebba of Tadmor, in the Zenobia of Palmyra: the beauty, the chastity, the commercial riches, the acquaintance with the tongues of Syria, Greece, Italy and Egypt, and many other particulars common to both, all point to one and the same individual.† The Arab Zebba perished on a fruitless attempt to escape from her river battlements; the Roman heroine was captured as she was about to cross the Euphrates in a boat. But the Arabs mistook the enemy of Zenobia; it was not the king of Hîra, but the Emperor of Rome.‡

* See the account of these events in *Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chapters* x. *and* xi. *C. de Perc.*, II., *p.* 193 *et seq.* If we followed only the similarity of names, *Zenobia* would stand for *Zeinab*, the sister of Zebba. It is remarkable that a *Zabda* or *Zaba* is also mentioned by the Greek and Roman authors, and Vopiscus speaks of "Zenobiam, Et Zabam, Ejus *Sociam*," as if the latter were a female: but as the person who went by that name was Zenobias, general in Egypt, the feminine gender must be a mistake, and the correspondence with the Arabic name accidental. Zenobia's *character* agrees only with that of Zebba. *(M. C. de Perc.*, II., *p.* 30, *note* 4 *)*

† Consult the account given of her character and fortunes by Gibbon. *(Decline and Fall, chapter* xi. *)*

‡ This subject illustrates the feeble authority of unsupported Mahometan history of remote date. "Les Arabes ont travesti l'histoire de Zénobie; ils font jouer au 'roi de Hîra Amr fils D'Adi, le rôle de l'empereur Aurélien dans le dénoûment du 'drame. Amr fils D'Adi pouvait avoir soutenu quelque guerre contre Zénobie; il 'aura suffi aux auteurs de la légende, pour lui attribuer la catastrophe de Zénobie 'ou Zebbâ, que le renversement de la puissance de cette reine ait eu lieu sous son 'règne." *(M. C. de Perc.*, I. 199.) Gibbon has well drawn the same conclusion from a vital omission: "So little has been preserved of eastern history before Mahomet,

We return to Jodzeima, the Prince of Hîra. His daughter married Adis, the son of Rabia, the Lakhmite king of Yemen, (who, as has been already related, sent his family to Irac, about 205 A. D.,) and gave birth to AMR, whom Jodzeima adopted as his successor. Strange and fabulous are the Arab legends of this child. He was carried off by the genii, and after many years found by a cistern in the desert, with long dishevelled hair, and nails like the claws of a bird. During his reign (268—288 A. D.) besides vanquishing Zebba, he gained other conquests. Amongst these was Mesopotamia, for after Zenobia's fall, the Romans loosened their grasp on that country, and it passed into the empire of Persia and the Government of Hîra.*

Amr was succeeded by his son IMRUL CAYS I. (288—338 A. D.,) who, according to certain Arabian authors, was a convert to Christianity; but the fact is improbable. It is not, however, unlikely that Christianity had been introduced among his *subjects* before the beginning of the fourth century.†

It was in this reign that Sapor II. of Persia visited some of the tribes of Central and Northern Arabia, with severe reprisals for ravages committed during his minority. The brunt of his fury fell upon the Bani Iyâd, Bani Bakr, and other families of Meccan origin. To prevent similar incursions the king caused a deep trench to be dug from the Persian gulph along the frontier of Irac, and though it formed but a feeble obstacle to Arab insurgents, yet three centuries later, on the Moslem conquest, the remains of the *Khandac-Sabûr* or "Trench of Sapor" were still visible near Cadesîya.

After two or three successions NOMAN I. reached the throne. (390—418 A. D.) Under his auspices Hîra became prosperous and powerful, and acquired the appellation *Hîrat al Nomân*, contracted by the Syrians, Greeks and Romans into *Hirta*.

Yezdegird, king of Persia, entrusted the education of his son, Bahrâm Gour, to Nomân, who built for his use, on a salu-

that the modern Persians are totally ignorant of the victory of Sapor, an event so glorious to their nation." *(Decline and Fall, chapter* X.*)* But Mahometans look with coldness and indifference upon any conquests before the time of Islam, their *nationality* dates only from that epoch. *(M. de Perc.* II., *p.* 21.—*Price's Essay as above, p.* 121 *et seq.)*

* This result of the struggle may have given that turn to the legend which connects the fall of Zenobia with the princes of Hîra. *(M. C. de Perc*, II., *p.* 46.*)*

† M. C. de Perceval mentions on the authority of de Lequien (Oriens Christ, II. 1078,) that some Roman captives brought to Babylonia, introduced Christianity there about 271 A. D. But even apart from such cause, in the ordinary course of diffusion, it is probable that Christianity had reached across the desert by that period. The Government of Hîra, however, was addicted to idolatry for some time after.

brious site, the famous palace of Khawarnac. The Greek architect imprudently divulged, that if a certain stone, known to him alone, were removed, the edifice would fall to the ground: Nomân resolved that the secret should perish with him, and the unfortunate Sinnimâr was precipitated from one of the lofty bastions and dashed to pieces.*

Under Nomân Christianity made rapid progress. It was about the year 410 A. D., that Simeon the Stylite retired to the top of a hill to the east of Antioch, and by a life of wonderful austerity, and the fame of miraculous power, attracted multitudes to his presence. Irac and Arabia heard the rumour of his virtues: many Arabs joined the throng of his admirers, and became well disposed to Christianity. Nomân, fearing, perhaps, lest enthusiasm for the Syrian monk might engender favor for the Roman Government, forbade his subjects under pain of death to visit the desert sanctuary. But the monarch saw a dream by night, in which Simeon appeared to chide him, and caused two of his disciples to administer a severe castigation for his ungodly conduct. The prince awoke, smarting under the effects of the visionary chastisement, and made haste not only to withdraw the prohibition, but to allow the erection of churches, and to welcome the ministration of ecclesiastics. This narrative is said to have been received by a Roman General from the mouth of Nomân himself, who added that, but for the dread of the Persian monarch, he would not hesitate to become a Christian.† It is agreed by all that Nomân abandoned idolatry, and it is affirmed by some that he embraced Christianity. There is, at any rate, good ground for believing that, dissatisfied with the world, and anxious to pass the rest of his days in quiet devotion, he abdicated the Government, and about 418 A. D. disappeared.‡

* Hence "*to receive the reward of Sinnimâr*," is a proverbial expression for being treated ungratefully.

† This was the period when Yezdegird distinguished himself by the persecution of Christianity, 416 A. D.

‡ The Poet Adi has made allusion to this incident in the following verses, addressed as an admonition to Nomân V. and his pupil, and a descendant of this prince:—

تدبر رب الخورنق اذ اشرف يوما و للهدي تفكير *
سره ماله و كثرة ما يملك و البحر معرضا و السدير *
و ارعوي قلبه و قال و ما غبطة حي الي الممات يسير *

"Reflect upon the Lord of Khawarnac, (for reflection leadeth to wisdom;) how, when one day he looked abroad from on high:—

"His heart was entranced by the view of his wealth, of the multitude of his possessions, of the river that flowed before him, and of the palace of Sedir:—

"But suddenly his heart smote him, and he said, "what is there to be envied in the living (possessor of all these things,) seeing that he hasteth unto the dead?"

Sedir was another famous country palace, which Nomân built for himself (*M. C. de Perc.* II., *p. 59.*)

To Nomân succeeded MUNDZIR I. (418—462 A. D.), who finished the education of the famous Bahram, and aided in gaining for him the Persian Crown. The persecution of Christianity, persevered in by Bahram, re-kindled hostilities with the Roman empire. The Romans besieged Nisibis; while Mundzir with a cloud of Arabs threatened Syria, and even Antioch. The churches were filled with suppliants to avert the coming vengeance, and in effect, a panic is said to have seized the Arab troops: they turned their arms against each other, and precipitated themselves into the Euphrates.* This occurred in the early years of Mundzir's reign. In 422 A. D. a lasting peace was concluded, and we hear little more of him from the Greek and Latin historians, whose incidental notices of the Arabs are confined to the wars between the two Empires.

Towards the end of the fifth century hostilities again broke out between Persia and Constantinople, and we find Nomân III., during his short reign (498—503 A. D.), almost constantly engaged, with various fortune, in warfare with the Roman troops. But about the beginning of the sixth century, an irruption of Arabs, independent alike of the Roman and of the Persian rule, carried terror and devastation throughout Syria. These were the Bani Bakr, and other central tribes, who under the guidance of the Kinda-ite chief *Hârith*, son of Amr al Macsûr (of whom there will be further mention hereafter,) threw themselves into western Syria: but having in 502 A. D. concluded a treaty with the Roman Emperor, they turned their arms against the kingdom of Hîra, defeated the troops sent to oppose them, and plundered the country all around. The panic and confusion were so great that Hârith seized possession of the city and the Government; but after a time retired with his Arab hordes to their native deserts.†

After a short interregnum, IMRULCAYS III. (505—513 A. D.) became fixed in the Government of Hîra. In a previous incursion into Arabia, he had carried off the famous Ma-al-Samâ, or "Water of the skies," so termed from her unrivalled beauty;

* Cnf. Gibbon, Ch. XXXII. These facts are of course gathered from the Greek and Latin authorities alone.

† Joshua the Stylite, a contemporary historian, calls these invaders *Thalabites*. Their leader is also called by Theophanes, Aretas surnamed *Thalabanes*, Ὁ τῆς Θαλαβανης, or *s[illegible] of the Thalabites*. The Arab historians tell us that the invaders were Bakrites, which corresponds with the title given them by the Greek writers, as including the great branch of the descendants of *Thálaba*, son of Ocāba It is remarkable that Hârith's *mother* was descended from Thalaba, though his father was of the tribe of Kinda. The *Matronymic* of the Greek historian thus wonderfully coincides with the *facts* given us by the Arabs; and the coincidence imparts a credibility to the whole narrative.

and she bore him a son and successor, named Mundzir.* But the seizure of this lady gave rise to serious hostilities with Central Arabia, which were at last put a stop to by the marriage of Mundzir to Hind, daughter of Hârith, the marauding chief noticed above.

The early part of the reign of MUNDZIR III. (513—562 A. D.) was full of trouble. It was at this time that the communist principles of the impostor Mazdak, adopted and enforced by the sovereign Cobâd, were rife in Persia, and threatened the social system throughout the land with an utter disorganization. Mundzir rejected the abominable doctrine; and in the year 518 A. D., his domains were assigned to the Arab Hârith. But principles so abhorrent from human nature could not long hold their ground. The impostor carried his arrogance to the pitch of demanding the Queen of Persia: her son, the future Kesra *(Chosroes)* Anushirvan, boiled with indignation at the request; but he repressed his anger, and bided his time for revenge. The socialists† redoubled their efforts, and Cobâd at last seeing his throne in danger, abandoned the seat to his son. Kesra was not long in beheading Mazdac, and in one morning 100,000 of his followers are said to have expiated the social enormity with their lives.

Mundzir, aided by Kesra, expelled Hârith from Hîra, and pursued him with slaughter into Arabia. He re-entered upon the Government in 523 A. D. His reign was thenceforward one of prosperity, and he attained a power unknown to any of his predecessors.

Abul Feda asserts, and Christian historians generally believe, that Mundzir III. was a convert to Christianity: but the conclusion is contradicted by other evidence. In the beginning of his reign he may have made enquiries into our faith; but there is every reason to believe that, like the generality of Arabs in

* He is called by the Greek historians Ἀλαμουνδαρος ὁ Σεκικης, or *Mundzir, the descendant of Shahtka.* M. C. de Perceval, by an ingenious and apparently sound deduction, corrects by means of this title, a confusion in the chronology of the Arab historians themselves. Some of those, misguided by the similarity of name, make *Nomân I.* to be the son of Shakîka; whereas that lady must have been the wife of his son Mundzir I., and mother of his grandson Nomân II., who was the ancestor of our Mundzir in the text. Mundzir I. had a second wife, Hind; and to distinguish the posterity of the other, they were styled the "branch of Shakîka." But had Shakkia been the wife of the first Mundzir's father, the title would have been meaningless, as applying to the whole of his descendants. The phrase quoted above, and preserved by the Greeks from the Arab currency of the day, thus ingeniously applied, serves to correct the later Arab authorities. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p. 77.*)

† They appear to have coalesced with the *Manicheans.* Indeed the Greeks call both by the latter name: and the Arabs both by the term *Zenddica.* The 42nd chapter of *Gibbon's Decline and Fall* may be consulted for the incidents of this period.

his day, he remained a Pagan; and towards the end of his life, he alternately protected and persecuted the Christians.

Eutychian doctrine was at this time supported by the Emperor Anastasius, and caused dissension in the church. Severus, the Patriarch of Antioch, shortly after the accession of Mundzir, sent two bishops to gain him over to his side. The prince listened to their arguments, but having adroitly entrapped them into the confession that angels could not die, he drew the deduction that much less could the divine nature be subject to death, and caused his reverend guests to retire in confusion. The story is probably founded on fact, and illustrates the opposing heterodoxies that were gradually paving the way for Islam.

Another deputation deserves special notice. Two Grecian Generals having fallen, by the chance of war, into the hands of the king of Hîra, the Emperor Justin sent an ambassador named Abraham, with the Bishop Simeon, to demand their deliverance. Not finding Mundzir at his capital, they set out, on the 20th January, 524, for his camp, which they reached ten days' journey to the south of Hîra. Their mission was successful. It was during this visit that Mundzir received the letter noticed above from the Jewish prince of Yemen, Dzu Nowâs, giving tidings of the butchery of the Christians in Najrân, and inviting him to follow his example. After causing the letter to be read aloud to the army, in which there were a very great number of Christians, Mundzir is said to have thus addressed them:—"*See ye not, how your fellow Christians are treated else-*
'where? why will not ye renounce the religion of Jesus? Think ye
'that I will treat you more favourably than other princes, who
'have proscribed them?" *From amid the ranks, a soldier boldly replied,* "*We were Christians before we were thy subjects. No one dares*
'make us renounce our faith: if pushed to defend ourselves, the
'arm and the sword of each of us are as good as those of any
'other." Daunted by such boldness, Mundzir continued to the Christians their liberty; but it is sufficiently evident that he was not a Christian himself.*

Soon after the death of Hârith, the influence of the tribe of Hinda, which had been the representative of the Himyar dynasty in Central Arabia, waned and expired. The Abyssinian invaders (525 A. D.) were regarded with aversion by the Arabs, and the allegiance hitherto tendered to their predecessors was transferred to the house of Hîra, or rather to Persia,

* It is however somewhat suspicious that this, so critical a scene for the Christians, should have been enacted just as the embassy happened to be there. It may be exaggerated, but even its invention would have been in the highest degree improbable had Mundzir been a Christian.

of which it was the vassal.* This important change, which occurred about 530 A. D., enabled Mundzir, with less apprehension from the south, and with a greater reserve of allies, to prosecute his Parthian warfare against Syria. Sudden as a thunder-storm, his troops would darken some fated spot, and sweeping in their train terror and devastation, captivity and death, they would as suddenly disappear, scorning the pursuit of the Roman army, which could find no sign of their enemy but in his ravages. For thirty years, with some intervals of truce, these hostilities were waged, either against the Romans or their allies, the Arab dynasty of Ghassân.† It was in this period that Belisarius so distinguished himself in repelling the inroads of Kesra, which reached even to Antioch,‡ and in preserving the Roman frontier. Mundzir was at last killed (562 A. D.) in a campaign against Hârith V., of the Ghassân line.§

* It was through the exercise of the influence thus acquired, that Mundzir III. put a stop to the desolating war, (the war of *Basûs,*) which had long raged between the Bakr and Taghlib tribes, who, as pledges of peace, sent to the court of Hira each eighty young men, who were yearly changed. These formed the corps of the Rahâin, and were regarded as the flower of Arab chivalry. The greater part, if not the whole of the Máaddite tribes (or those of Meccan origin) submitted themselves to Hira.

† In these lengthened campaigns, the private disputes of their respective vassals not unfrequently embroiled the Persian and Roman Governments, or were at least the *ostensible* cause of war. The following is an example :—"Unpractised in the art of violating treaties, he (the Persian King,) secretly excited his bold and subtle vassal Almondar. That prince of the Saracens, who resided at Hira, had not been included in the general peace, and still waged an obscure war against his rival Arethas, the chief of the tribe of Ghassân, and confederate of the empire. The subject of their dispute was an extensive sheep-walk in the desert to the south of Palmyra. An immemorial tribute for the license of pasture appeared to attest the rights of Almondar, while the Ghassânide appealed to the Latin name of *Strata,* a paved road, as an unquestionable evidence of the sovereignty and labours of the Romans. The two monarchs supported the cause of their respective vassals ; and the Persian Arab, without expecting the event of a slow and doubtful arbitration, enriched his flying camp with the spoil and captives of Syria." (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall, ch.* XLII. —*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 98.)

‡ In 528 A. D. Mundzir appeared in the vicinity of Antioch, and burnt the suburbs of Chalcis (Kinasrin.) By the time the Roman troops were put in motion, he had regained the desert with a multitude of captives. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol.* II, *p.* 93.) This is not to be confounded with the invasion of Syria and sack of Antioch by Chosroes in 540. A. D. (*Gibbon, ch.* XLII.)

§ An incident in one of these Syrian campaigns throws light on the religious practices of the northern Arabs. In the year 541 A. D., Belisarius having convoked a council of war, two Roman officers, in command of Syrian garrisons, declined to follow the army to Nisibis, on the plea that their absence would leave Syria and Phenicia exposed to the attacks of Mundzir. Belisarius argued that as the summer solstice was at hand, when the Arabs devoted two months to the practices of their religion without resorting to arms, there was no cause for apprehension, and he promised to let them go when that period was expired. These were the months of Meccan pilgrimage : and we hence learn that Mundzir and the majority of his Arabs followed the religion of the Hejâz. The period also coincides singularly with M. C. de Perceval's system for calculating the Meccan calendar.

In another place Procopius loosely states, that Mundzir having made prisoner a son of the Ghassânide prince, immolated him to Venus. By Venus he may possibly have meant Lât or Ozza.

AMR III. (562—574 A. D.) was not slow in avenging the death of his father, by a fierce attack upon the Ghassânide kingdom. Shortly after his succession, a peace was concluded between Persia and the Roman Empire. But Amr, dissatisfied with the stoppage of a pension received by his father, sent an embassage of complaint to Constantinople, and was so mortified by the mode of its reception, that he again overran Syria with his armies. He also waged bloody wars with the Bani Tay and Bani Tamîm (tribes of Central Arabia); the latter of whom had murdered his brother. He met with his death, A. D. 574, in a singular mode, highly illustrative of Arab manners. He had sworn in his pride that his own mother should be served by the mother of the haughtiest Arab in the land. Accordingly, at an appointed festival, the mother of Amr, a warrior-poet of the Bani Taghlib, was invited into the tent of the prince's mother, who sought to entrap her into the apparently insignificant act of handing her a dish. But the proud spirit of the Arab lady spurned the office; and resenting the affront, she screamed loudly to her tribe. Her son started at the call, and springing up struck the prince dead upon the spot. It was in the eighth year of this king's reign that Mahomet was born.

Henceforth Hîra seems to have declined, and there is an uncertainty about some of the successions to its sovereignty. In 580 A. D., MUNDZIR IV. was raised to the throne. Jealous of his brothers, or anticipating the success of the Romans, he had gone over to them, and repaired to Constantinople with his suite; but, subsequently, he changed sides and joined Hormuzd, the Persian monarch, who conferred on him the Crown of Hîra. He fell, finally, as a captive into the hands of the Romans, and for his defection was banished to Sicily.*

NOMAN V. ABU CABUS succeeded Amr (583—605 A. D.) He was brought up by Adi, one of the most renowned of the city poets,† whose history bears upon that of Hîra. His remote ancestor Ayûb (Job,) of the Bani Tamîm (a Bedouin tribe, of Meccan origin,) having committed murder, fled to the court of Hîra, and being received with distinction, settled there. The sixth in descent from him was the poet Adi, whose grand-father and father (Zeid) both held offices of trust at Hîra.‡ Adi and his father were both charged with the

* This is the account of the Greek historians; the Arabs make him perish in a battle with the Ghassânide army.

† The city poets were regarded as inferior to the free poets of the desert.

‡ His grand-father was Secretary to Noman III., and his father Director of the Post. On the death of Noman IV., his father was placed by the people in temporary charge of the Government.

education of the young Nomân. In process of time (575 A. D.) Adi received, at the court of Persia, the post of Arabic Secretary to the Monarch. In 581 he was despatched by the court of Persia on a pacific embassy to Constantinople, and commissioned with a rich present for the Emperor Tiberius. He travelled back by the imperial relays of horses, and by a route calculated to convey the largest idea of the power and resources of the Roman Empire. On his return to Medâin or Ctesiphon, he sought and obtained leave of absence to visit Hîra, where he was received by the king and the people with triumphant acclamation. It was on this occasion, that on a Maundy Thursday, he met at the church of Tûma, *Hind*, the grand-daughter of the reigning prince Mundzir IV., and daughter of his own pupil, the future Nomân V. The damsel partook of the Sacrament there: Adi caught a glimpse, and was enamoured of her. His passion was reciprocated, and though she was scarce eleven years old, they were united in marriage.

These facts show that both Adi and Hind professed the Christian faith. It is agreed by all that Nomân V. was likewise of the same religion; and by some his conversion is attributed to the instruction of his preceptor Adi.*

It was by Adi's influence at the court of Persia, that Nomân V. was chosen from amongst his brethren to be the king of Hîra. But that influence procured him enemies. He was misrepresented to Nomân, who, forgetful of all he owed to his preceptor and patron, deceitfully invited him to Hîra, cast him into

* It is said that he was won over from idolatry to Christianity thus: the prince and his preceptor chanced in their walks to pass by a cemetery situated between the city and the river. Adi said, "*Dost thou know what the inhabitants of these tombs say? This is their language.*"

ايها ركب المخبون علي الارض مجدون * مثل انتم حيينا و كما نحن تكونون *

رب ركب قد اناخوا حولنا * يشربون الخمر بالماء الزلال *

ثم اضحوا لعب الدهر بهم * و كذلك الدهر حال بعد حال *

"Oh ye company of travellers hasting along upon the earth and labouring!
Like you, *we* lived; and like us, *ye* too shall die!
Many a company have made their camels kneel down around us;—
And as they halted, quaffed wine mingled with the limpid stream;—
The morning passed away, and lo! they had become the sport of time:—
Even thus is time, but one state following upon another."—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II, p.* 143.

Noman was deeply moved by the solemn warning conveyed in these touching lines, and embraced the Christian faith.

Others say that Simeon, the bishop of Hira, delivered him from a demon by which he had been possessed and that thenceforward he became a Christian.

Under any circumstances it is agreed that he was converted before his accession to the throne.

prison, and, notwithstanding the endeavours of the king of Persia, put him to death. His widow, Hind, retired to a convent, which was thenceforward called by her name *(Dâyr Hind.)* She survived to see Hîra fall into the hands of the Moslem army; and, to crown the strange vicissitudes of her life, the Mahometan commander of Irâc, the warlike Mughîra, son of Shôba, repaired to the convent in the year 661 A. D., and demanded the hand of the princess, then about ninety years of age, in marriage. "If it were my youth or my beau-' ty," she replied, "that dictated the proposal, I should not ' have refused; but your desire is only that you may say '*the* ' *kingdom of Noman, and his daughter have passed into my* ' *hands.*' Is not that your thought?" Mughîra confessed that it was, and she scorned the union. Soon after the interview she died.

Hîra no longer retained the prestige of victory over the Central Arabs. The troops of Nomân were discomfited by the Bani Yarbó, (a tribe of the Bani Tamîm,) from whom his court wished to take the post of *Ridâfa* or Lieutenancy, and give it to another branch.* The two sons of Nomân were captured on the occasion, but generously released by the Bani Yarbó, who appear to have retained their privilege.

Nomân V. is famous in the annals of Arabia, chiefly because his reign approached close to Islam, and he was the patron of several renowned poets who celebrated his name.† At length Zeid, the son of the unfortunate Adi, procured his disgrace at the Persian court, in revenge for the murder of his father. Zeid praised the beauties of Hîra to the king of Persia, who readily adopted his suggestion, that some of their lovely faces might adorn his harem. An embassage was accordingly despatched to Nomân, who, surprised by the demand, expressed aloud his wonder, that the monarch of Persia was not satisfied with the *antelope* beauties of his own land. The term was equivocal, and Nomân was represented to have spoken of the females of Persia as *cows*. The wrath of Kesra fell upon his ungallant vassal, and he fled from Hîra. After vainly wandering among the Arab tribes, and leaving his arms in the custody of Hânî, a chief of the Bani Bakr, he in despair delivered

* The *Ridf* took his place at the right hand of the king, rode behind him, &c. The office was established by Mundzir III. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 102.)

† His name has descended in many ways. His partiality for the flower called the *anemone*, procured for it that name: for it was called Shacâick *an-noman*, شقايق النعمان so also a town built by him on the right bank of the Tigris, between Wasit and Baghdad, was called *Nomâniya* (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 156.)

himself up to the king of Persia. The unfortunate prince was made to pass between two long rows of lovely Persian girls spendidly attired, and each taunted him with the question, whether *she* was a Persian *cow*. He was cast into prison, and there died or was murdered. Thus ended the LAKHMITE DYNASTY, in the year 605 A. D., having lasted the venerable space of 327 years.

An Arab of the tribe of Tay, who had rendered service in action to the king of Persia, was raised by him, but within circumscribed limits, to the government of Hira. Meanwhile Kesra demanded of Hânî, the arms and property which Nomân had deposited with him. The Bani Bakr resented the claim, and indignant at the murder of Nomân, they arrayed themselves in opposition, and carried pillage and confusion into the Persian provinces. The king vainly endeavoured to interpose an obstacle, by granting to Cays, one of the Bakrite chiefs, a jagir around *Obolla*, on the right bank of the Tigris. But, notwithstanding the efforts and hospitality of Cays, the depredations still continued, and Kesra resolved on inflicting a signal tribulation upon his rebellious vassals. All the influence of Hîra was given to swell with Arab allies the innumerable Persian army, which was to crush the Bani Bakr. But the word of alarm had been given, and rapidly as it passed from clan to clan, amongst the ramifications of that great tribe, the Arabs flocked to the rendezvous in the valley of Dzu Câr. The ranks were about to close, when the iron-hearted Hantzala, who had by acclamation been chosen Commander, with his own hand severed the girths of the camels on which were seated his wife and the other women of the tribe; and thus abandoned them, in case of defeat, to certain captivity. The Arabs fought with desperate bravery, and the Persian army was completely routed. This defeat, ominous of the fate of Persia, took place A. D. 611. A few months previous, Mahomet, now forty years of age, had entered on his prophetical career.

Iyas, the Arab Governor of Hîra, was shortly after deposed in disgrace; and Hîra, governed thereafter by a Persian grandee called Zâdiya, fell into the rank of a common Satrapy of Persia, and thus continued till it was swallowed up in the Mahometan Empire.

From the victory of Dzu Câr, the Bani Bakr continued independent. The other tribes of Central Arabia, who had hitherto been held in vassalship to the Persian king, through his Arab respesentative at Hîra, now spurned the patronage of a foreign Satrap, and regarded with contempt the power of a nation

torn by discord, and paralysed by a succession of kings, so rapid and ceaseless, as to be incapable of continuous government. The warrior prophet of Arabia was now rising to view as the paramount chief in Arabia, and the central and western tribes, between 628 and 631 A. D., joyfully transferred their allegiance, from a foreign and decrepit power, to a native and vigorous government. But the Arab tribes of Mesopotamia, who professed Christianity, continued for some years longer to hold to Persia, and recognize its authority.

We now turn to the kingdom of the GHASSANITE Arabs, situated on the western side of the Syrian desert. The fortunes of Odenathus and Zenobia have been already traced. After their fall, the Romans would appear to have recognized as Kings or Phylarchs of the Syrian Arabs, the chiefs of the Bani Salîh, (a Codhâite tribe, which, as has been mentioned, migrated to Syria,) or of the Tonûkhites, who came westward from Hîra.

It has been related above how a great body of the Azdites emigrated from Yemen about 120 A. D. They halted in the Hejâz, on their northward progress; but after a lengthened residence in the valley of Batn Marr, not far from Mecca, the land became too strait for them, and again, in the beginning of the third century, they pursued their northward journey. It was now that they received the appellation of *Ghassân*, from their long residence by the way, near a fountain of that name. At last, during the dynasty of Odenath, they emerged on the plains of Bosra, near the country of Balcâa. The Bani Salîh, who inhabited the vicinage, allowed them, by direction of the Roman authorities, to settle, but demanded tribute, which, after an unsuccessful struggle, the proud Ghassânites consented to pay. But they paid unwillingly, and bided their time. About the close of the third century, an altercation arose between one of their chiefs and the tax-gatherer of the Bani Salîh, the latter was killed; both tribes took up arms, and the Ghassânite party were completely victorious. The Roman authorities took little interest in this struggle. They needed a barrier between Syria and the Persian frontier, but they were indifferent whether it should be composed of the Bani Salîh, or of the Bani Ghassân. When the latter accordingly agreed to be their faithful allies, no difficulty was found in acknowledging their chief THALABA, the son of Amr, as the Phylarch or King of the Ghassânites. It was stipulated that, in case of need, the Arab should aid the Emperor with 20,000

men, while the Emperor guaranteed to succour his allies if attacked, by an army 40,000 strong.*

About the year 300 A.D., the Government passed into the hands of another THALABA,† the fifth in descent from Amr Mozaikia, and progenitor of the famous Ghassânide Dynasty. The history of this line is not so certain as that of Hîra. Here there was no fixed seat of Government; each Prince made choice of his own, or spent his life in the camp. The continuous evidence arising out of a settled capital being here deficient, we find much confusion in the number, succession, and names of the kings; while the presence of several subordinate or independent dynasties, on the borders of Arabia, which it is not always easy to distinguish from the Ghassânides, introduces another element of uncertainty.

The elevation of Thálaba caused much jealousy and discontent, and two branches of the Ghassân tribe, descended from *Aws and Khazraj* (grandsons of Amr Mozaikia,) separated from their brethren, and returned southwards. They settled at Yathreb or Medîna, where they will be found at a subsequent part of our story. On the first rise of Islam, they were still Pagans, and worshipped idols; a fact which seems to disprove the Arab account, that the Bani Ghassân professed Christianity, and built monasteries in the middle of our second century. It is indeed *possible* that the Aws and Khazraj relapsed into idolatry after quitting Syria; but it is more probable that the whole Ghassân tribe were then Pagan, and did not embrace Christianity till Constantine brought many political inducements to bear upon their conversion.

The discontent of the Ghassânites was speedily quelled by the success of HARITH, the son of Thálaba (303—330 A.D.) in his predatory excursions. It is supposed that Christianity was adopted by the tribe under his successor JABALA (330—360 A. D.) ‡

During the next reign,—that of HARITH II. (360—373 A.D.)

* These are the accounts of the Arab writers.

† *Arethas* or *Hârith* is a very frequent name of the Ghassân princes; but there is no ground for holding that it was a title common to *all* the Syrian Phylarchs. Several of the Ghassânite Kings called *Jabala*, are also styled *Hârith*; and it is possible that they took this surname (which signifies a *lion*,) in opposition to that of Mundzir (*a dog*,) borne by many of their rivals, the Kings of Hira. (*M. C. de Perc. vol. ii. p.* 210.)

‡ This would be the period when politically its introduction was most probable. But there is no direct proof. Sozomenes asserts that an Arab Prince, *Zacome* (called by Liquien *Zaracome*,) having obtained a son through the prayers of a monk, was with his whole tribe, converted to Christianity: but it is difficult to identify any such prince in the Ghassân line. The nearest approach M. C. de Perceval can make is in the name of *Arcam*, a grandson of THALABA.

is thought to have occurred the ill-fated expedition of Julian against Persia. We learn from Roman history, that the Ghassânite allies, discontented with the stoppage of the accustomed subsidies, took advantage of the reverses of the imperial army, harassed its retreat, and cut up its rear guard.*

Hârith was succeeded by his widow MAVIA (373—380 A. D.) who turned her arms against the Romans, and devastated Phœnicia and Palestine. She defeated the troops sent against her; but consented to peace on condition that Moses, a man renowned for his miracles, should be sent as the Bishop of her nation. He was drawn from his solitude, and consecrated accordingly; and it is said that he destroyed the remains of idolatry among the Ghassânites. Mâvia gave her daughter in marriage to the Count Victor, and by her subsidy of Arab horse, contributed essentially to the defence of Constantinople against the Goths.† During the succeeding century little is known of the Ghassânite history, but an imperfect and sometimes confused list of names, and some warlike passages with the Kings of Hîra.

We pass on to JABALA III. (called also HARITH IV.,) 495—529 A. D. He belonged to another branch of the house of Thálaba, and many historians commence the Ghassân succession from him. He is styled *Al Akbar* (the Great or Elder,) as the first of three famous Hâriths who illustrated the fortunes of the dynasty. His wife *Mâria Dzát al Curtain* ("Maria of the ear-rings,") belonged to the Yemen tribe of Kinda, and her sister was married to the Kindaite prince, *Hojr Akil al Morar.* It is not certain how this alliance was contracted; but we find Hârith at war with the Kinda tribe, whose chief *Amr al Macsûr*, son of Hojr, he killed in battle. Hârith perished in an encounter with Mundzir III., of Hîra. Strange stories are related of the ear-rings of his wife, which are proverbial for inestimable value.‡ According to some she presented them, either before, or upon, her adoption of Christianity, to the temple at Mecca: according to others, they remained in possession of her descendants, and were worn by Jabala VI.,

* *See Gibbon's Decline and Fall. ch.* xxiv. But the name of "*Malek Rodoaces*, the renowned Emir of the tribe of Ghassân," it is not possible to connect with any in the Ghassânite line.

† This is from the Grecian historians, Theophanes and Ammianus. M.C. de Perceval shows that the Arabs appear to have confounded *Mâvia* with *Maria*, a princess who lived about a century later:—another specimen of the critical skill of our Arab historians.

‡ Thus,—ماريه و لو بقرطي خذه Each, they say, was the size of a pigeon's egg.

when in 637 A. D., he visited Mecca to do homage to Omar.

The Roman historians notice, about this time, two Phylarchs, who must have been distinct from the Bani Ghassân. One called *Abo-Charib* (Abu Carib) received the chieftainship of the Arabs of Palestine, in exchange for a country washed by the Red Sea.* He assisted the Romans against the rebel Samaritans, and received in return 20,000 prisoners, whom he sold into Persia and Abyssinia. Cays, a Kindite prince, is also mentioned as having received an Arab Government from Justinian, about the year 536.†

HARITH V., surnamed *the Lame* (530—572 A. D.) is styled with satisfactory accuracy by Procopius, "Arethas, son of Gabala" (Jabala III.) He is celebrated for the honors showered upon him by Justinian, who, for the doubtful aid afforded against the Persians, conferred upon him the title of *king*,‡ and even the rank of Patrician. In 531 A. D., he contributed to the defeat of Belisarius, by his "treacherous or cowardly desertion" at the battle of Callinicus.§ Ten years later, he assisted Belisarius in an inroad upon Mesopotamia, and created a diversion in the ambitious plans of Chosroes: but again he acted treacherously, and secured for himself the sole booty of a rich tract of country, while, by false advices, he kept the Romans long waiting his return, under a pestilential sun.‖ The Arab historians are silent as to these exploits, but they relate an expedition against the Jews of Tayma and Khaibar.

The wars of this prince with Hîra have already been related, under the reigns of Mundzir III. and Amr III. Hârith repaired, A. D. 562, to Constantinople, to complain of the hostilities of Amr, after the conclusion of peace, and to procure the recognition of his son Hârith, as his successor. It was towards the end of the reign of Hârith the Lame, that Mahomet was born.

* It is described as bounded by Palestine in the north, by the country of the *Mâaddenians* on the south, stretching ten days' journey to the east, and producing only palms. (*Procopius.*)

† Malala and Theophanes refer to Hârith as having been in hostility with the Roman commander of Phenicia, and obliged to quit the province, and exile himself in the desert. During some such interregnum, the princes here referred to may have reigned: or Palestine may have formed a phylarchy, separate from that of the Bani Gassân. It seems difficult to believe that Abocharab, the chief of Palestine, could have been the Hârith al Araj of the Arabs. (*M. C. de Perceval, vol. ii., p. 237, Note* 3.)

‡ Hitherto the title had been *Phylarch.*

§ *See Gibbon's Decline and Fall, chap. xli.*

‖ *Idem, chap. xlii.*

Of HARITH THE LESS (572—587 A. D.) little is related, but that he obtained a victory over Mundzir III., at Ayn Obâgh: and indeed the kingdom of the Ghassânites does not henceforth occupy any distinguished place in the pages of history. The successor of this prince, AMR IV., ABU SHAMMIR (587—597 A. D.) has been rendered illustrious by his patronage of the Arab poets. It was in his reign that Hassân Abu Thâbit, the famous poet of Islam and friend of Mahomet, first appeared at the Ghassânide court, where he met his fellow poets, Nâbigha and Alcama, and began to enjoy the favour of a dynasty, several of whose members visited him with peculiar honors.

From 600 to 630 A. D., the chief ruler of the Ghassânites was HARITH VII., son of Abu Shammir, whose residence appears to have been sometimes at Jabia, sometimes at Ammân *(Philadelphia,)* the capital of Balcâa.* In 629 A. D., Mahomet addressed to him a summons to join Islam, which he contemptuously refused; and shortly after he died.† Contemporaneously with Hârith, and, probably, subordinate to him, there reigned at Palmyra AYHAM, the son of Jabala; and there existed other inferior Governments, such as that of SHURAHBIL, son of Jabala IV., at Maâb, and Muta, in Arabia Petrea.‡

Meanwhile the prestige of the Ghassânide rule had departed. The inroads of the Persians, in the reign of Phocas, and in the early years of that of Heraclius, had given it a shock,

* At the end of the 5th century the rule of the chief branch of the Ghassânites extended over Jaulân and Haurân, as the following verses by Nâbigha Dhobiâni, on the death of Noman VI. (597—600 A. D.) prove.

بكي حارث الجولان من فقد ربه * و حوران منه خاشع متضائل

Jaulân (*Gaulonitis*, or the *Golan* of Deut, chap. iv, 43; Joshua, chap. xx., 1 Chron. chap. vi.) is the high mountainous country east of the lake of Tiberias. Haurân (*Auranitis*) is adjacent to it.

At this time there was, apparently, a division of the kingdom; for we find Hojr II. and Amr V., two grandsons of Hârith the Lame, ruling over the Arabs of Palestine as far as Ayla on the Red Sea, (590—615 A. D.) Thus Hassân Ibu Thâbit writes. :—

من يغر الوهر او يامنه من قبيل بعد عمر و حجر *
ملكا من جبل الثلج الي حانبي ايله من عبد و جد *

"Who shall deceive time, or feel secure from its attack henceforth, after Amr and 'Hojr, the two princes who ruled bondmen and free, from the snow capt hills, to the 'boundaries of Ayla."—*C. de Perc. p.* 249.

The "mountains of snow" are likely the high ranges of Tiberias. This branch was probably overthrown in the destructive war again kindled between Persia and the West, in the first steps of which Chosroes overran Syria, plundered Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem, and carried his ravages even to the borders of Egypt.

† *Wâckidi, p.* 50.

‡ See also the account of an embassy from Mahomet to certain rulers in Ammân. (*Wâckidi, p.* 50½)

from which it never recovered; and it is remarked even by a Mahometan writer, that the decadence of the race of Ghassân was preparing the way for the glories of the Arabian Prophet.*

The last king of the race was JABALA VI., son of Ayham, (630—637 A. D.) The poet Hassân always spoke of this prince with affection, and with gratitude: and, although, on embracing Islam, he discontinued his visits to the Ghassânide court, Jabala still continued to honor him by marks of his friendship. During Abu Bakr's Caliphate, this prince took an active, but always unfortunate, part, in opposing the inroads of the Moslem armies, and he shared in the humiliation of the mournful day of Yarmuk. When Heraclius abandoned Syria, he went over to Islam and Omar; but his faith in the new prophet was neither deep nor lasting. On a fancied insult, he recanted, and retired to Constantinople, where his family and his name long survived.†

Of the rest of the world, Arabia maintained a singular independence of mind and institution. Egypt, Syria, Persia, as well as the Abyssinian kingdom of Axum, adjoined on Arabia, or were severed from it only by narrow inlets of the ocean; yet they exercised but little influence upon the social and political fortunes of its inhabitants, who had no sympathy with their manners and their language; while the hospitable deserts of the Peninsula never permitted the successful encroachment of foreign arms. But the dynasties of Hîra and the Ghassânides were native to Arabia, and composed of materials which blended with the Arab mind, and struck an impression upon it. Both in warlike and social relations, there was with them a close connection. It was through them the Arabs communicated with the external world, and derived their ideas of Europe as well as of Asia. Hîra was, besides, ever since the fall of the Himyar line, the paramount power in Central Arabia, whose supremacy was acknowledged by all. To this, and to the permanence and extent of its capital, was owing the superior *political* influence which it enjoyed, in comparison with the Ghassânite kingdom. But the latter, though inferior to the court of Hîra in magnificence and stability, possessed an important *social* power, especially over the Western Arabs. It lay near Hejâz, and there was a frequent interchange of civility, both from casual visits, and the regular expeditions of the mercantile caravans. It is in this quarter, therefore, we

* *Thaâlebi. Tabacât al mulûk* (*M. C. de Perceval, vol. ii., p. 2.*)

† *See Wâckidi, p. 51: and M. C. de Perceval, vol. ii., p. 267.*

must chiefly look for the external influences which moulded the opinions of Mecca and Medîna.*

Leaving now the outskirts of Arabia, we proceed to sketch the history of the chief tribes who occupied the centre of the Peninsula, and to trace the origin and rise of Mecca and Medîna.

The traditional history of Mecca, and of the line from which the Coreish descended, goes back further than that of the Bedouin tribes. Their fixed habitation in the valley of Mecca, strengthened and perpetuated local tradition, which, with a mixture of fable and fact, ascends to a century before the Christian era; while the accounts of the other tribes do not, in general, commence more than two centuries before the birth of Mahomet.

The founding of Mecca, by Abraham and Ishmael, is so clearly a legendary fiction, that we should not advert to it at all, except to enquire in what facts or popular notions it took its rise. The outline of the legend, filled up as usual, with rich circumstantial colouring, is as follows. The wandering Hagar reaches the valley of Mecca; in despair she hastes to and fro from the little hill of Marwa to that of Safa, seeking for water. Ishmael lies wailing on the ground; but, lo! as he passionately kicks around, a fountain bubbles forth beneath his feet; it is the well of Zamzam. A tribe of Amalekites are tempted, by the fountain, to the spot, and among them the youthful Ishmael grows up. On an eminence in the vicinity, Abraham, in fulfilment of the divine behest, was about to offer up his son, when his arm was stayed, and a vicarious sacrifice was prescribed. The youth was married to an Amalekite wife, but during the absence of her husband, she proved inhospitable to his father, who arrived as a guest: and by the monition of Abraham, he put her away, and married another. Two Yemen tribes, the *Jorhom* and *Catûra*, about this time arrived in the vicinity: the wicked Amalekites, who vainly opposed their settlement, were expelled by a plague of ants; and it was

* It is hence in the same direction, we must seek for the impression of Christianity, received by the Western Arabs. We have no very satisfactory intimation as to the peculiar phases of Christianity exhibited by Hira, and by the Ghassânites, respectively. The former, being independent of Constantinople, would be more likely to embrace and retain the Nestorian doctrines popular in the East. The Government of Ghassân was under Roman influence, and would, probably, embrace the Sectarian principles, whether Eutychian, Arian, or Orthodox, enforced by the Emperor of the day; and thus these would eventually influence Western Arabia. But there is nothing to us more remarkable than the gross ignorance of some of the leading features of Christianity, which, notwithstanding all their means of information, is displayed by Mahomet and his early followers.

with the daughter of the Jorhom Chief, that Ishmael celebrated his second nuptials. On a subsequent visit, Abraham, assisted by his son, proceeded to erect the Kaaba, and to reconstitute the ancient rites of pilgrimage on the sacred spot. After Ishmael and his son Nâbit *(Nebaioth,)* the management of the temple devolved on Modâdh, the Jorhom Chief, who held the imposts of the Northern or Upper part of Mecca, while Samayda, the Catûra Chief, held the Southern. But a quarrel arose between the two tribes, and the Jorhom, assisted by the descendants of Ishmael *(Mustáriba, i. e.,* half-caste Arabs,) expelled the Catûra, who joined, and were lost amongst, the Amalekites. From this point (which the juxta-position with Ishmael would make at least 2,000 years anterior to Mahomet,) to Adnân, who lived a little before the Christian era, the legend is blank: and although the ready pen of the traditionists has supplied a list of Mahomet's progenitors to fill up the space, yet Mahomet himself never traced his pedigree higher than Adnân,* and declared all who went further back guilty of fabrication and falsehood.

Even in the time of Adnân, we find ourselves encompassed with legend and with doubt. Bakht-nassar, or Nebuchadnezzar,

* "Beyond Adnân," said Mahomet, "none but the Lord knoweth, and the genealogists lie" كذب النسابون (*Wâckidi, p.* 9.) Yet Wâckidi, as well as other biographers, gives a list of some forty names between Adnân and Ishmael. The manner in which these genealogies have been got up, has been explained in a former paper. An anecdote regarding the Tadmorite Rabbin, similar to that quoted from Tabari, is given by Wâckidi (p. 9,) who also furnishes other intimations, that such like lists have been supplied from Jewish sources; thus Abu Abdallah, the Secretary of Wâckidi, writes:—

و لم ار بينهم اختلافا ابن معد من اولاد قيدر بن اسماعيل و هذا الاختلاف في نسبه يدل على انه لم يحفظ و انما اخذ ذلك من اهل الكتاب و ترجموه لهم فاختلفوا فيه ولو صح ذلك كان رسول الله اعلم الناس به فالامر عندنا على الانتهاء ابي معد بن عدنان ثم الامساك عما وراء ذلك الي اسماعيل ابن ابراهيم *

"And I have met with no difference of opinion in respect of Máadd being of the children of Caydar, son of Ishmael; but this discrepancy in the genealogy between them, gives proof that the particulars of the descent have not been preserved, but have been taken from the Jews, and translated by them to the Arabs, and thus they differ in (their several versions of) this genealogy; and if this genealogy had been really a correct one, then the prophet of the Lord had been better acquainted with it than any other. So my conclusion is, that the genealogical detail ends with Adnân, and that we must hold back from anything beyond that till we reach Ishmael, son of Abraham." (*Wâckidi, p.* 9½.)

This is a clear admission that up to Adnân Mahomet's genealogy is *native* and Arabic; but beyond that it has been borrowed from the Jews.

the traditionists say, attacked Arabia, and having routed Adnân and the Jorhomites, devastated Mecca, and carried off to Babylon a multitude of captives. But Providence watched over Adnân's son, Máadd, whom, by the command of the Lord, Eremia and Abrakhia (Jeremiah and Baruch,) carried off and nurtured safely in the land of Harran. But between Mahomet and Adnân, there is an ascertained interval of but eighteen generations, and by careful calculation, the birth of Adnân cannot be assigned to an earlier date than 130 B. C.,* while the ravages of Nebuchadnezzar's army occurred 577 B. C. Thus, even in such comparatively modern events, does legend contemn the limitations of chronology.

After the expulsion of the Bani Catûra, the Jorhomites remained supreme at Mecca, and a list of their kings is given for nine generations, (*i. e.*, from about one century B. C., to nearly the end of the second century A. D.)† During this period, in which (according to the fond conceit of the Moslems,) the Jorhomites *usurped* the Ishmaelite privileges of the Kaaba, the following successions took place among the Coreishite ancestry.

ADNAN (born 130 B. C.) begot two sons, *Máadd* and *Akk*. The descendants of Akk moved to the south of Jidda, and mingled with the Yemenites.

MAADD‡ (born 97 B. C.) had four grand-sons, *Modhar*, *Rabia*, *Iyâd* and *Anmâr*,—all distinguished by a most prolific progeny, which was destined to play a conspicuous part in various quarters of the Peninsula. Of the two last, the posterity spread from Yemen to Irac. From Rabia sprang several notable tribes, viz., the *Bani Abd al Cays*, who eventually passed over to Bahrein, on the Persian gulph; the *Anaza*,§ who to this day overspread Arabia: the *Bani Nâmir ibn Câsit*, who settled

* This is the calculation of M. C. de Perceval. The dates of the more immediate progenitors of Mahomet are calculated at their ascertained ages. Beyond that, there being no other data, the length of each generation is reckoned at the average period of thirty-three years.

† In arranging the chronology of these kings, tradition displays the most inimitable confusion. The first in the list is the father-in-law of Ishmael, while the daughter of the *ninth* is given in marriage to Máadd, (about 50 B. C.) Again two generations later, the *last* of the dynasty is made coeval with *Fihr Coreish*, who lived in the middle of the third century! This last, however, is a clear historical date, or at least is the likeliest to be so; and in calculating back therefrom, M. C. de Perceval arrives at the conclusion, that the *first* Jorhomite prince was coeval with Adnân, the earliest known ancestor of the Coreish. This is a very satisfactory coincidence, as traditional reminiscence would be likely enough to bring down the ancestral lines, both of the Jorhom and Coreish, from the same period.

‡ A tradition in Wâckidi makes Máadd to be coeval with our Saviour. (*p.* 9.) This is, probably, a matter of calculation, and not of *bonâ fide* tradition: but it is quite possible that Máadd may have been alive when our Saviour was born.

§ These are the *Aeneze* of Burkhardt.

in Mesopotamia; and finally the *Bani Bakr* and *Bani Taghlib*, sons of Wâil, with their numerous branches, whose wars, famous in the annals of Arabia, will be alluded to hereafter.

MODHAR (born 31 B. C.) had two sons, *Eliyâs* and *Aylân*, the father of *Cays*. From the latter descended the powerful tribes of the *Bani Adwân*, *Ghatafan*, *Suleim*, *Hawazin*, and *Thakîf*.

The descendants of ELIYAS, (born about the Christian era,) are from their Codhâite mother, termed the *Bani Khindif*; one of them, Tâbikha, was progenitor of the *Bani Mozaina*, and of the *Bani Tamîm*, famous in the history of Najd.

Another son, MUDRIKA (born 35 A. D.) was the father of *Khozaima*, and *Hodzail*. The latter was the ancestor of the *Bani Hodzail*, distinguished in the annals both of war and of poetry, and as we learn from Burkhardt, still occupying under the same name the environs of Mecca.*

KHOZAIMA (born 68 A. D.) begat *Asad* and *Kinâna*. The *Bani Asad* retired to Najd, but were subsequently expelled by Yemen tribes; and returned to the Hejâz, where they bore a prominent part in opposing the arms of Mahomet.

KINANA (born 101 A. D.) had six sons, each of whom became the chief of a numerous family. Among them was *Abd Monât*, the father of Bakr, and through him, of the *Bani Dûil*, *Laith*, and *Dhamra*. But the most illustrious of his sons was NADHR (born 134 A. D.) the grand-father of FIHR (born 200 A. D.) surnamed *Coreish*,† and the ancestor, at the distance of eight generations, of the famous *Cussai* (born 400 A. D.)

Up to the era of Nadhr, or of his son Mâlik, the Jorhomites retained their supremacy. But towards the end of the second century, the Azdite immigration, of which we have repeatedly spoken, took place, and a horde of Azdite adventurers settled at Batn Marr, a valley near Mecca. The Jorhomites, jealous of these neighbours, endeavoured to expel them, but were

* *Travels in Arabia, Vol. I., pp. 63—66.*

† NADHR is sometimes styled *Coreish*, but it is more frequently FIHR, or his son MALIK, to whom the appellation is first accorded. See *Wâckidy, p. 12½.—Tabari, p. 40*, where a variety of origins are given for this name. The likeliest is the meaning *noble*; but it is also possible that the Coreish, by the illustration of what was simply a proper name, may have *conferred* upon it that meaning. Others say that Nadhr had a guide called by that name, and as his mercantile caravan approached, it used to be saluted as the "Caravan of *Coreish*," and thus the appellation passed to him. Again it is derived from a metaphorical resemblance to a fish called Coreish, which eats up all others; or to *tarsh*, a high-bred camel. Others refer it to a root which signifies *to trade*. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 229.*) Wâckidi (*p. 12,*) had a theory that the name was first given to Cussai, who *gathered together* the descendants of Fihr. Sprenger adopts this notion, and makes Cussai the first real personage in the line, and Fihr a myth: but this seems an excess of scepticism. (*Life of Mohammad, p. 19.*) See also traditions in *Tabari, pp. 41, 42*, in favour of Cussai, as the first called by the name Coreish.

worsted in the attempt. Meanwhile, the Máaddite* tribes (or ancestors of the Coreish,) were engaged in a similar, but more successful struggle, with a body of Codhâite adventurers, who were endeavouring to establish themselves between Mecca and Tâif. The Codhâites, feeling that they could not maintain the contest, retired, as we have before noticed, towards Syria and Bahrein.

Meanwhile a party of the Azdites (the Ghassân, Aws, and Khazraj) quitted Batn Marr; but they left behind them a portion of their colony, thence styled the *Bani Khozâa* (the '*remanent*,') under the command of *Amr, son of Lohai*, and great-grandson of Amr Mozaikia.† With the Khozâa, the Meccan families of Bakr (son of Abd Monat,) and the Bani Iyâd, combined; and falling upon the Jorhomites, slaughtered and expelled them from the Tihâma. Modhâd, the last king of the Jorhom dynasty, at his departure, or previously (foreseeing as they say that his people would be overthrown for their wickedness) buried in the vicinity of the Kaaba, and by the well Zamzam (by this time choked up), two gazelles of gold, with swords and suits of armour.‡ These events occurred about 206 A. D.

It would seem that the Bani Iyâd then contended with the other Máaddite tribes, for the charge of the Kaaba, now vacated by the Jorhomites; but that they were worsted in the struggle, and emigrated towards Irac, where, as we have seen, they took part in the establishment of the kingdom of Hîra.

But the descendants of Máadd were destined to be still excluded from the administration of the Kaaba and of Mecca: for about 207 A. D., it was seized upon by their allies, the Khozâa, whose chief, Amr, and his descendants held the govern-

* That is, the *Bani Máadd*, or families descended from the son of Adnân. The term *Bani* prefixed to [redacted] of Mahomet's ancestors, as Bani *Adnân*, Bani *Nizâr*, Bani *Fihr*, is of course extensive in proportion to the remoteness of the name with which it is coupled. Thus the *Bani Modhar* include the branches of Hawâzin and Ghatafan; but do not include those of Bakr and Taghlib: while the *Bani Nizâr* (father of Modhar,) include both. The *Bani Fihr* again (being lower down,) include neither, but are confined to the Coreish. In speaking of the ancestry of Mahomet; and the tribes related to him by blood, it is convenient to style them the *Bani Máadd*, a comprehensive title including all.

† One would expect no doubt to exist on the filiation of so important a tribe. Nevertheless, it is held by a few that the Khozâa are of the Máaddite stock; but the great body of writers give them the origin assigned in the text, which is also supported by the following verses of Hassân Ibu Thâbit, who thus traces a common origin between his own tribe (the Khazraj of Medina,) and the Khozâa:—

و لما هبطنا بطن مر تخزعت * خزاعه منا فی بطون کراکر

"And when we sojourned at Batn Marr, the Khozâa, with their families, separating from us, remained behind." (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol I., p.* 217.)

‡ These were the ornaments and armour subsequently dug up by Abd al Muttalib, Mahomet's grand-father.

ment of the country for upwards of two centuries.* Still three important offices were secured by the Máaddite tribes. *First*, the NASI, or commutation of the holy months, and intercalation of the year, was held by a descendant of Kinâna. *Second*, the IJAZA, or signal and arrangements for the departure of the pilgrims from Mount Arafat and Minâ, exercised by the *Bani Súfa*, descendants of Tâbikha, son of Elyâs. *Third*, the IFADHA, or heading the procession from Muzdalifa, enjoyed by the Bani Adwân.†

The position of parties remained in this state till the beginning of the fifth century, by which time the Coreish had advanced, in numbers and power, so as to rival their Khozâaite rulers. It was reserved for CUSSAI, the fifth in ascent from Mahomet, to assert the real or imaginary right of his tribe to the guardianship of the Kaaba, and the command of Mecca. The outline of his romantic story is as follows:—

KILAB (born 365 A.D.) the sixth in descent from Fihr Coreish, died, leaving two sons, *Zohra* and *Zeid* (born A.D. 400:) the former grown up, the latter a suckling. His widow married a man of the Codhâite tribe Odzra, and followed him with little Zeid, to her new home in the highlands south of Syria, where she gave birth to another son called Rizâh. When Zeid grew up, he was named CUSSAI, because of the separation from his father's house; but at last, learning the noble rank of his ancestry, he resolved to return to Mecca, and travelled thither with a company of the Odzra pilgrims. At Mecca he was recognized by his brother Zohra, and at once received into the position his birth entitled him to hold.‡

* The tale explaining how this happened is at the best doubtful. The Bani Iyâd, as they quitted the country, resolved to do all the mischief they could, by removing the black stone from the Kaaba, and burying it secretly. A Khozâite female alone witnessed where it was put, and the Khozâites agreed to restore it, only on condition that the Kaaba was made over to them; with the Kaaba, the temporal power followed also. No such unlikely tale as this is required. The Khozâa were evidently at this period more powerful than the Meccan tribes. To them the chief merit of driving out the Jorhomites was due, and they naturally succeeded to their place. (*Cnf. M. de Sacy, Mem. sur Arabes avant Mahomet, pp.* 66—67.)

† *Vide Tabari, p.* 72—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., pp.* 220—240; *Vol. II., p* 262; —*Sprenger, p.* 6, *note ii., and p.* 7, *note iv.* The Nasi or intercalary system, M. C. de Perceval traces from the beginning of the fifth century, or about thirty years before Cussai's accession to power. The new mode of calculating the era might originate then, but not the faculty of transposing the months, which was probably of old standing.

‡ *Tabari, p.* 26 *et. seq.*—*Wackidi, p.* 11½. Sprenger treats this as a fictitious story, framed to cover Cussai's foreign extraction, and "greedily adopted by Mahometan authors," to save the Ishmaelite lineage of their Prophet. (*p.* 18.) This view is ingenious, but surrounded with insuperable difficulties.

1. The story is evidently not of late growth, but grounded on ancient and pre-Islamitic tradition.

2. Considering the attention given by the Arabs to genealogical details, it

Cussai was a man of commanding person, and of an energetic and ambitious mind. He was treated with great distinction by Holeil, the Khozâite King, who gave him his daughter Hobba in marriage, and permitted him, or his wife, to assume the immediate management of the Kaaba, and, perhaps, some of the functions of the Government. On the death of Holeil, Cussai, who had now four adult sons, and had rapidly advanced in wealth and influence, perceived his opportunity, and having canvassed among the Coreish for support, bound them together in a secret league. He also wrote to his brother Rizâh to come to his aid at the ensuing pilgrimage, with an armed band of the Bani Odzra; for even the Khozâa are said to have outnumbered the Coreish.*

Cussai opened his clandestine measures, by the violent assertion of his claim to the right of dismissing the assembled Arab tribes from Minâ, when the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were finished. From remote times, this had been the office of the Bani Sûfa (a distant branch collateral with the Coreish,) who repressed the impatient multitude, took precedence in flinging the stones at Minâ, and marshalled the dispersion of the assembly, their own tribe taking the lead.

On the present occasion the Bani Sûfa, stationed on the eminence of Ackaba, in the defile of Minâ, were on the point of giving the usual command, when Cussai stepped forth and claimed the privilege. It was disputed; weapons were drawn, and after a sharp encounter, in which Rizâh, with 300 of the Bani Odzra, rushed to the succour of Cussai, the Sûfa yielded their office, with the victory, to their opponent.

The Khozâa looked on with jealousy at this usurpation of prescriptive right, and began to entertain suspicions, lest Cus-

appears incredible that the story should have been foisted into currency without *some* foundation.

3. The only remaining supposition would be that Cussai was not the little Zeid taken to the highlands of Syria, by Kilâb's widow. But there would be not only the testimony of the widow, and of her second husband, and of their acquaintance among the Bani Odzra, to establish this fact, but also the family recognition of relatives. Zohra, though blind (not necessarily from old age) recognized his brother's voice. To those who have noted how personal peculiarities are often handed down from father to son, this will not appear impossible, though Dr. Sprenger rejects the idea.

4. Cussai had many enemies among the Khozâa, Bani Bakar, and Bani Sûfa, and there were numerous other Coreishite branches, who would not have failed to seize upon and perpetuate any story casting doubt upon Cussai's Coreishite origin. Yet we do not observe in any quarter the shadow of a traditional suspicion; because, (as we believe,) Cussci was actually received on good grounds and by common consent, as the veritable son of Kilâb. Zohra and Cussai are said to have been both poets.

* *Tabari, p.* 29.

sai should seek to snatch from them also their hereditary title to the supremacy over the Hejâz. They prepared to resist, and associated with themselves the Bani Bakr, their old allies, in the expulsion of the Jorhomites. The Coreish rallied round Cussai, who was again supported by Rizâh and his comrades, and a second but more general and bloody action ensued. The field remained uncertain, for the carnage was so great, that the combatants mutually called for a truce, and surrendered the decision of their claims into the hands of Amr, an aged sage. The umpire, though of Bani Bakr descent, affirmed the assumptions of Cussai: yielded to him the guardianship of the Kaaba, and the Government of Mecca; and, still more strongly to mark the justice of his position, decreed the price of blood for all men killed on his side, while the dead on the other side were to pass unavenged by fine.*

Thus, about the middle of the fifth century (or perhaps 440 A. D.) the command of Mecca passed into the hands of Cussai. The first act of his authority, after the Khozâa and Bani Bakr had evacuated Mecca, and the Odzra allies had been dismissed, was to bring within the valley of the Kaaba, the whole of his kinsmen of Coreish descent, many of whom had previously lived in the mountain glens surrounding Mecca.† The town was laid out anew, and to each family was allotted a separate quarter, which was held with such tenacity, that the same partition was still extant in the time of the Mahometan historians. So large an influx of inhabitants, joined to the regular distribution of the land, swelled the city far beyond its previous bounds; and the site of the new habitations trenched

* This is the most received account. There are other narratives which it may be interesting to mention, though they more or less contradict that given in the text. *First.* Holeil the Khozâite king openly held that Cussai was the best entitled to succeed him; and therefore left to him, by will, the inheritance of his power. *Second.* Holeil gave up the care of the Kaaba, with its keys, to his daughter Hobba, Cussai's wife; and appointed a man called Ghubshân (some say he was her son) to assist her. Cussai made him drunk, and purchased from him the command, for a skin of wine and some camels; but the Khozâa rose up against Cussai, when he began to exercise his privileges, whereupon he sent for aid to his brother Rizâh, &c. Wâckidi says (*p.* 11½) that this occurred at a time when Ghubshân was enraged at the Meccans for withholding the customary cesses at the season of pilgrimage, and that after the bargain (as above,) he vacated Mecca in favor of Cussai. A third statement is, that the Khozâa were attacked by a deadly pestilence, which nearly extirpated them, and that they resolved to evacuate Mecca, selling, or otherwise disposing of, their houses there. All these accounts will be found in *Tabari, pp.* 27—32, *and Wâckidi, pp.* 11½ *and* 12.

† *Tabari, p.* 29. But some (as the *Bani Muhârib*, and *Bani Hârith*, descendants of Fihr Coreish,) still preferred their semi-nomad life *outside* of Mecca, and were thence styled قريش الظواهر in contradistinction to the قريش البطاح those of the vale of Mecca. (*Wâckidi, p.* 12½.)

upon the acacias and brushwood of the valley,* which the superstition of the place had invested with so peculiar a sanctity, that the people feared to remove them. Cussai, superior to such scruples, seized a hatchet; and the people following his example, the trees were soon removed. From effecting this re-union of his clan, Cussai was called *Mujammi*, or the "Gatherer."†

The next civic work of Cussai was to build a Council House, or Town Hall, called *Dâr-al-Nadwa*, having its porch opening towards the Kaaba, near which it stood.‡ Here all political movements were discussed, and social ceremonies solemnized.

In the Town Hall, the girls first assumed the dress of womanhood, and their marriages were celebrated; from thence all caravans set forth; and thither the traveller, on returning from his journey, first bent his steps. When war was resolved upon, it was there that the banner *Liwâ* was mounted by Cussai himself, or by one of his sons. By assuming the Presidency in the Hall of Council, Cussai rivetted his authority as the Sheikh of Mecca, and Governor of the country; "and 'his ordinances were obeyed, and venerated as one does the 'observances of religion, both before and after his death."§

* و كان كثير الشجر العضاة و السلم (*Wâckidi, p.* 12½.)

† مجمع According to some, as we have seen, he was also called *Coreish*. But the received doctrine refers that title many generations back. Weil conjectures that Cussai was the first Coreish; and that it was not till after Mahomet's death that the appellation (the bearers of which were held by the Prophet to be the noblest Arabs, and the best entitled to the Government,) was extended higher and wider, in order to take in Omar and Abu Bakr, whose collateral branches separated from the main line above Cussai. The limiting of the title to the descendants of Cusssai, is denounced by the Sunnies as a Shie-ite heresy. Weil looks upon this as strengthening his theory; but we confess the charge of Shia fabrication appears to us a very likely one. *They* first endeavoured to limit the title, in order to throw suspicion upon the early Caliphs and the house of Omeya. Again, supposing the existence of the motive imagined by Weil, why should the clumsy expedient have been adopted of going back to Fihr or Nadhr, three or four generations earlier than Káb, the common ancestor, both of Mahomet, and the three first Caliphs? It is *possible* (but we think not probable,) that the term Coreish was introduced first in the time of Cussai; but if so, it was then used to denominate *tribes he drew together*, and thus the whole of the descendants of Fihr. (See *Weil's Mohammed, p.* 4, *note iv.*) This conclusion would correspond with the tradition that, before the time of Cussai, the Coreish were termed the Bani Nadhr. (*Wâckidi, p.* 12½.)

‡ He is said also to have rebuilt the Kaaba, as the Jorhom had done before, and to have placed the images Hobal, Isâf, and Nâila, in it. (See *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 249.—*Sprenger, p.* 20.) But the authority seems doubtful. From his being said to have rebuilt the Kaaba, has arisen the opinion adopted by Sprenger, that Cussai founded both the Kaaba and Mecca; an opinion which appears to contradict both probability and tradition.

§ *Vide Tabari, p.* 32 *et seq.*—*Wâckidi, p.* 12 *et seq.*

Besides these civil offices, Cussai possessed the chief religious dignities connected with the Meccan worship. The *Hijâba* gave him the keys, and the control of the Kaaba. The *Sicâya*, or giving of drink to the pilgrims; and the *Rifâda*, or providing them with victuals, were his sole prerogatives; and in the eyes of the generous Arabs, invested his name with a peculiar lustre. During the pilgrimage, leathern cisterns were established at Mecca, at Minâ, and at Arafat;* and he stimulated the hospitality of the inhabitants to subscribe annually an ample fund, which was expended by himself in the gratuitous distribution of food to the pilgrims.

He did not assume the minor offices of marshalling the processions on the ceremonial tour to Arafat, (though it was ostensibly for one of those offices he first drew the sword,) nor the post of *Nisâ*, or commutation of holy months;† but being the paramount authority, these duties would be executed in strict subordination to his will. "Thus," writes Tabari, "he main-
' tained the Arabs in the performance of all the prescriptive
' rites of the pilgrimage; and that because he believed them
' in his heart to form a religion which it behoved him not to
' alter."‡

The religious observances, thus perpetuated by Cussai, were in substance the same as in the time of Mahomet, and (with some alterations) as we find practised in the present day. The grand centre of the religion was the Kaaba; to visit which, kiss the black stone, and make seven circuits round the sacred edifice, was at all times regarded as a holy privilege. The LITTLE pilgrimage *(Omra* or *Hajj al Asghar,)* which involved these acts, and the rite of hastily passing to and fro seven times between the little hills of Safa and Marwa, close by the Kaaba, might be performed with merit at any season; but especially in the sacred month of Rajab, which formed a break in the middle of the eight secular months. Before entering the sacred territory, the votary assumed the pilgrim garb (*ihrâm,*) and at the conclusion of the ceremonies shaved his head, and pared his nails.

* In the palmy days of Islam, stone aqueducts and ponds took the place of this more primitive fashion. (*Cnf. Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, pp.* 59 *and* 267 —*and Ali Bey, Vol. II., p.* 68.) The giving of water to the inhabitants of *Mecca* from wells *without* the town, is stated as the origin of the custom of Sicâya: (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 239.) The custom however appears rather to have been originally connected with the well Zamzam, the source of Mecca's ancient prosperity. But according to tradition, we must suppose this famous well to have been at this period filled up, as Abd al Motallib was the first to open it after its neglect.

† *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 240—*Tabari, pp.* 34 and 72.

‡ *Tabari, p.* 34.

The GREAT pilgrimage *(Hajj al Akbar,)* involved all the ceremonies of the little pilgrimage, but it could be performed only in the holy month, Dzul Hijja; and it concluded with the additional rite of repairing to Arafat (a small granite hill in a mountain country, some eighteen miles east of Mecca,*) on the 9th of the month; returning that night to Mozdalifa; and next morning (10th) proceeding to Minâ (midway between Arafat and Mecca,) where the two succeeding days were spent; each pilgrim repeatedly casting small stones at certain objects, and concluding the pilgrimage by the sacrifice of some victim, a camel, a sheep, or a kid.

At what remote period the country about Mecca began to be regarded as inviolable (Haram,) we have no means of judging; but the institution of the four sacred months appears to have formed an ancient, and, perhaps, original part of the system. These were three consecutive months, viz., the last two, and the first of each year *(Dzul Cáada, Dzul Hijja,* and *Moharram,)* and the seventh *(Rajab).* During them, by unanimous consent, war was suspended, hostile feelings suppressed, and an universal amnesty reigned over Arabia. Pilgrims from every quarter were then free to repair to Mecca; and fairs throughout the land, were thronged by those whom merchandize, or the contests of poetry, brought together.

There is reason for supposing that the Meccan year was originally a lunar one, and continued so till the beginning of the fifth century, when, in imitation of the Jews, it was turned, by the interjection of a month at the close of every third year, (Nisâ,) into a luni-solar period.† If by this change, it was

* For descriptions of the hill of Arafat and adjoining plain, See *Burkhardt's Arabia, p.* 266, *and Ali Bey, Vol. II., p.* 67.

† The question has been well discussed by M. C. de Perceval, *Vol. I., p.* 242 *et seq.*—and in the *Journal Asiatique, Avril* 1843, *p.* 342, where the same author has given a "*Memoire sur le Calendrier Arabe avant l'islamisme.*" It is assumed that the months (as in other rude nations) were originally purely lunar, and that thus the month of pilgrimage came (as it now does in the Moslem calendar,) eleven days earlier every year, and in thirty-three years performed a complete revolution of the seasons. It is supposed that the inconvenience of providing for the influx of pilgrims at all seasons, led to the idea of fixing the month of pilgrimage, when it came round to October or autumn, invariably to that part of the year by a system of intercalation. Tradition notes the series of *Nâsi* officers who performed the duty. The first of these was Sarîr, a man closely connected with the Coreish, and whose genealogy would make him sixty or seventy years of age at the close of the fourth century; so that (if we trust to tradition,) the origin of intercalation could not have been much later than the beginning of the fifth century. The Arab historians are not agreed upon the nature of the intercalation practised at Mecca. Some say seven months were interposed every nineteen years; others nine months every twenty-four years; but, (I.) These are evidently *supposed* systems, formed on calculation to give a true solar year, and the first having

intended to make the season of pilgrimage correspond invariably with the autumn, when a supply of food for the vast multitude would be easily procurable, that object was defeated by the still remaining imperfection of the cycle; for the year being yet shorter by one day and a fraction than the real year, each recurring season accelerated the time of pilgrimage: so that, when after two centuries, intercalation was prohibited by Mahomet (A. D. 631.) the days of pilgrimage had moved from October, gradually backward to March.

Coupled with this, and styled by the same name, *(Nisâ)*, was the privilege of commuting the last of the three sacred months, for the one succeeding it, (Safar,) in which case Moharram became secular, and Safar sacred. It is probable that this innovation was introduced by Cussai, who wished, by abridging the long three months' cessation of hostilities, to humour the warlike Arabs, as well as to obtain for himself the power of holding

been introduced by the Jews only about the end of the fourth century, was not likely to have been so immediately adopted at Mecca; and (II.) Neither system would answer the likely requirement of bringing the month of pilgrimage in two centuries from autumn round to spring. Other Arab writers say that a month was interjected at the close of every third year; and this is the system recognized by M. C. de Perceval, apparently on good grounds; for (1) it exactly corresponds to the revolution of the pilgrimage month from autumn to spring in two centuries as is clearly shown in the chronological table attached to his Vol. I., and it also corresponds with the fact of the pilgrimage month having, in 541 A. D., fallen at the summer solstice, when Belisarius on that account refused to let his Syrian allies leave him. (See above, note § p. 28.) (2.) It was the system previously tried by the Jews, who intercalated similarly a month at the close of every third year, called *Ve-adar*, or the second Adar; and there is *à priori* every likelihood that the practice was borrowed from the Jews. (3.) The tradition in favor of this view is more likely than the others to be correct, because it could have originated in no astronomical calculation. (4.) Although it would change the months to various seasons, yet it would do so gradually, so that the months might meanwhile acquire and retain names corresponding with the character of the seasons. Such nomenclature probably arose on the months first becoming comparatively fixed, *i. e.*, in the beginning of the fifth century, and thus the names *Rabi*, *Jumâda*, *Ramadhân*, signifying respectively *rain and verdure*, the *cessation of rain*, and *heat*, clung by the months long after they had become misnomers.

M. de Sacy's view that intercalation was practised at Medina, while a purely lunar calculation prevailed at Mecca, is clearly opposed to the fact, that a common system of calculation obtained over the whole Peninsula, the time of pilgrimage being one and undisputed. (*Mem. sur Arabes avant Mahomet, pp.* 123—143.)

An important corollary from M. de Perceval's conclusion is that all calculations up to the end of Mahomet's life must be made in luni-solar years, and not in lunar years, involving a yearly difference of ten days. It will also explain certain discrepancies in Mahomet's life, some historians calculating by the luni-solar year in force in the period under narration; others adjusting such periods by the application of the lunar year subsequently adopted. Thus some make their prophet to have lived sixty-three or sixty-three and a half years, others sixty-five: the one possibly being luni-solar, the other lunar years.

Moharram either sacred or secular, as might best suit his purposes.*

In reviewing this account of Mecca and its religion, the origin of the temple and of the worship demands our attention. The Mahometans, as we have seen, attribute them to Abraham and Ishmael, and connect a part of their ceremonial with biblical legends; but their traditional narrative we have already concluded to be a mere fable, devoid of probability and of consistency.† Farther considerations will strengthen the con-

* The third successor from Sarîr (who first held the office of Nâsi) was Hodzeifa the First, who, in addition to the intercalation, *commuted* one sacred month for another. This may very well bring the system of *commutation* under Cussai, as supposed by M. C. de Perceval. Besides exchanging Moharram for Safar (hence called the "*two Safars.*") some say the power existed of commuting the isolated sacred month (Rajab) for the one succeeding it, Shábân; whence they were called the "two Shábâns." When this was done, it became lawful to war in Moharram or Rajab; and Safar or Shábân acquired the sacredness of the months in the stead of which they were placed. (Cnf. *Sprenger, p. 7. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 249—Journal Asiatique Avril, 1843, p. 350.*) It appears however to us more likely that the system of commutation was an ancient one, more remote, probably, than that of intercalation: but it had perhaps fallen out of use, and Cussai may have brought it into practice more prominently than before. (See note †, p. 44 of this Art.)

† M. C. de Perceval rejects the Ishmaelite traditions, but still holds them mythically to shadow forth actual facts. Thus, although Nebuchadnezzar's invasion was in 577 B. C., and Adnân, who is said to have been routed by him, could not have lived earlier than 100 B.C., "Yet," says he, "this is not a sufficient reason for banishing the legend into the domain of fable. It may contain some traits of real facts, as well as many ancient traditions, modified and arranged in modern times.

"The posterity of Ishmael, vanquished and nearly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar II., as prophesied by Jeremia, then long after reviving and multiplying through some branches that escaped the sword, appears to me to be personified under Adnân and Máadd,—names pertaining to a comparatively recent epoch, and employed by anticipation.

"In truth, the distance which separates Máadd and Adnân from Nebuchadnezzar, and the breach in the continuity of the chain (between Adnân and Ishmael,) might at first sight make one doubt *whether Adnân were really of Ishmaelite issue.* But opinion is so unanimous with regard to that descent, that not to admit its truth would be an excess of scepticism. The Arabs of the Hejâz and Najd, have always (?) regarded Ishmael as their ancestor. This conviction, the source of their respect for the memory of Abraham, is too general, and too deep, not to repose on a real foundation. In fine, Mahomet, who gloried in his Ishmaelite origin, was never contradicted on that point by his enemies, the Jews.

"I accept then the legend interpreted in this sense, that at a time more or less posterior to Nebuchadnezzar II., some feeble relics of the race of Ishmael, designated under the collective and anticipative denomination of *Máadd*, and preserved, it may be, amongst the Israelites, appeared in the country of Mecca, occupied then by the Jorhomites:—that in the sequel, Máadd, son of Adnân (not now in the collective, but probably individual sense,) one of the descendants of Ishmael, united himself, by marriage, with the tribe of Jorhom, and became the progenitor of a numerous population, which subsequently, covered the Hejáz and Najd.

"Here occurs a singular approximation of two distant events. This establishment of Mâadd on the territory of Mecca, and his marriage with the Jorhom princess, are an exact repetition of what is reported of Ishmael his ancestor. *In this double set of facts, Ishmael is undoubtedly a myth; Máadd is probably a reality.*" (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p. 183—Cnf. also note †, page 41 of this Article.*

viction that Mecca and its rites cannot possibly claim an Abrahamic origin.

First. There is not the slightest trace of anything Abrahamic in the essential elements of the superstition. To kiss the black stone, to make the circuit of the Kaaba, and perform the other observances at Mecca and the vale of Arafat, to keep the sacred months, and to hallow the sacred territory, have no conceivable connection with Abraham, or with the ideas and principles which his descendants would be likely to inherit from him. The rites were either strictly local, or connected with the system of idolatry prevailing in the south of the Peninsula, and originated in causes foreign to the country chiefly occupied by Abraham's race.

Second. A very high antiquity must be assigned to the main features of the religion of Mecca. Although Herodotus does not refer to the Kaaba, yet he names as one of the chief Arab divinities ALILAT; and this is strong evidence of the worship, at that early period, of *Allât*, a Meccan idol.* He makes likewise a distant allusion to their veneration for stones.† Diodorus Siculus, who wrote about half a century before our era, in describing that part of Arabia washed by the Red Sea, uses the following language:—"there is, in this country, a temple greatly revered by all the Arabs."‡ These words can hardly refer to anything but the holy house of Mecca, for we know of no other which ever commanded the homage of all Arabia. Early *historical* tradition gives no trace of its first construction; some assert that the Amalekites rebuilt it, and retained it for a time under their charge;§ all agree that it

* Ὀυνομάζουσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον, Ὀροτάλ. τὴν δὲ Ὀυρανίην Ἀλιλατ. (*Herod, III.*, 8.) The identification generally held between *Orotal* and *Allâhu Taâla*, appears to us to be too remote and fanciful for adoption: but Cnf. *C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 174, and *Rosenmüller's Geog., Vol. III., p.* 294; with *Pococke's Specimen, p.* 110. For Ὀροτάλ there are the various readings Ὀυροτάλτ, and Ὀροταλτ.

† Σέβονται δὲ Ἀράβιοι πίστις ἀνθρώπων ὅμοια τοισι μάλιστα. ποιεῦνται δὲ αὐτὰς τρόπῳ τοιῳδε. τῶν βουλομένων τὰ πιστα ποιέεσθαι, ἄλλος ἀνὴρ ἀμφοτέρων αὐτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ἑστεὼς, λίθῳ ὀξέϊ τὸ ἔσω τῶν χειρῶν παρά τοὺς δακτύλους τοὺς μεγάλους ἐπιτάμνει τῶν ποιευμένων τὰς πίστις, καὶ ἔπειτα λαβὼν ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου ἑκατερου κροκύδα, ἀλείφει τῳ αἵματι ἐν μέσῳ κειμενους λίθους ἑπτά. τοῦτο δὲ ποίεων, ἐπικαλέει τόν τε Διόνυσον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην. (*Herod, loc. cit.*) Thus the hands of the contracting parties were first cut with a sharp stone, and the blood was then rubbed *upon seven stones placed in the* midst, and at the same time the divinities were invoked. There is here a close blending of the stones with religious worship.

‡ *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 174, and authorities there cited.

§ See the authorities quoted by Sprenger, p. 15.

was in existence under the Jorhom dynasty,* (about the time of the Christian era,) and that having been injured by a flood of rain, it was by them repaired. It was again repaired by Cussai.

From time immemorial, tradition represents Mecca as the scene of a yearly pilgrimage from *all* quarters of Arabia: from Yemen, Hadhramaut, and the shores of the Persian Gulph, and from the deserts of Syria, and the remote environs of Hîra and Mesopotamia. Thus the circuit of its veneration might be described by a radius of a thousand miles, interrupted only by the interposition of the sea. So universal an homage must have had its beginnings in a very remote age; and a similar antiquity must be ascribed to the essential concomitants of the worship, the Kaaba, with its black stone, the sacred limits, and the holy months. The origin of a superstition, thus ancient and universal, may naturally be looked for in the country itself, and not in any foreign source.

Third. The native systems of Arabia were Sabeanism, idolatry, and *stone worship*, all closely connected with the religion of Mecca.

There is reason for believing that Sabeanism, or the worship of the heavenly bodies, was the earliest form of departure in Arabia, from the pure adoration of the deity. The book of Job, and many historical notices, and certain early names in the Himyar dynasty, imply the prevalence of the system.† As late as the fourth century, we have seen that sacrifices were

* That the Bani Jorhom must have had a hand either in the construction or repair of the Kaaba, Zahair in his *Mollaaca* testifies :—

فاقسمت بالبيت الذي طاف حوله * رجال بنوه من قريش وجرهم *

"I swear by that house, which is encircled by the Coreish and Jorhom, who built it." (*Sir W. Jones, Vol. X., p.* 356 – *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. III., p.* 352.)

It will also be remembered that when the Jorhomites were expelled (about 200 A. D.) the black stone is said to have been secreted by the Bani Iyâd, and produced by the Khozâa, so that, according to this, the worship of the Kaaba must then have been of ancient standing.

† The name of *Abd Shams*, "servant" or "votary of the Sun," occurs in the Himyar dynasty about the eighth century B. C.; and again in the fourth century. One of these is said to have restored *Am Shams* or Heliopolis, (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 52,) but the tradition probably originated in the name. The stars worshipped by the various tribes, are specified by M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I, p. 349; *and Pococke's Specimen, p.* 4. Mahomet represents the people of Saba as worshipping the sun in the days of Solomon (*Sura XXVII., v.* 25.) *Isâf* and *Nâila*, whose statues were worshipped at Mecca, are said to have been the son and daughter of *Dhib* and *Sahuil, i. e.*, the constellations of the *Wolf* and *Canopus*: and were thus probably connected with the adoration of these heavenly bodies. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 199.) See also in *Sale's Preliminary Discourse*, a notice of the constellations worshipped by the Arabs, (*pp.* 19 and 20.) In *Sura liii.*, 19, is an evident allusion to the adoration of *Al Shira*, or Sirius.

offered in Yemen to the sun, moon and stars.* The seven circuits of the Kaaba were, probably, emblematical of the revolutions of the planetary bodies; and it is remarkable that a similar rite was practised at the other idol fanes in Arabia.†

Mahomet is said to have held that *Ameer, son of Lohai* (the first Khozâite king, A. D. 200) was the earliest who dared to change the pure "religion of Ishmael," and set up idols brought from Syria. But this is a mere Moslem conceit; for the practice of idolatry thickly overspread the whole Peninsula, from a much more remote period; and we have authentic records of ancient shrines scattered from Yemen to Dûma, and Hîra, most of them subordinate to the Kaaba, and some having rites resembling those of Mecca.‡ A system thus widely diffused, and thoroughly organized, cannot but have existed in Arabia long before the time of Amir Ibn Lohai, and may well be regarded as of indigenous growth.

The most singular feature in the Fetichism of Arabia, was the adoration paid to unshapen stones. The Mahometans hold, that the general practice arose out of the Kaaba worship. "The adoration of stones among the Ishmaelites," says Ibn Ishâc, "originated in the practice of carrying a stone from 'the sacred enclosure of Mecca, when they went a journey, 'out of reverence to the Kaaba; and whithersoever they 'went, they set it up, and made circuits round about it as was 'done to the Kaaba; till at the last they worshipped every 'goodly stone they saw, and forgot their religion, and changed

* See above, page 14, of this article.

† *C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 270.—*Hishami, p.* 27, and *Sprenger's Mohammed, p.* 6. "Shahrastany informs us that there was an opinion among the Arabs, that the walking round the Kaaba and other ceremonies, were symbolical of the motion of the planets, and of other astronomical facts." In a note (1) authority is given for considering the Arabs to be worshippers of the sun, moon and stars; the constellations adored by each tribe being specified.

‡ *Hishami, p.* 27 *and* 28; where the various shrines and their localities and adherent tribes are specified: also *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., pp.* 113, 198, 223 and 269: and *Sprenger, p.* 78. For idolatry at *Hîra* consult *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II, pp.* 19, 100 and 132; at *Medîna, Wâckidi* 268½ and many subsequent passages: *Hishâmi, p.* 153, and *M. C. de Perceval, II.* 649, and 688. There was a temple of Morât at Medîna at *Mushallal Cudeid*, towards the sea. But it is needless to specify farther. As to the ceremonies, even the inviolability of the holy territory did not want its counterpart. We read of a *Haram* or sacred temple and enclosure instituted in the fifth century for the Bani Ghatafan *in imitation* of that at Mecca. We have no farther particulars to enable us to judge whether it was a simple imitation, or aspired to any independent origin. It was destroyed by Zahair the Yemen ruler of the B. Taghlib about the middle of that century. (*C. de Perceval*, II. *p.* 263.) See also the account of the Kaaba of Najrân formed on the model of that of Mecca, I. *p.* 160.

the faith of Abraham and Ishmael, and worshipped images."* This tendency to lapidolatry was undoubtedly prevalent throughout Arabia, but it is much more probable that it *occasioned* the superstition of the Kaaba and its black stone, than that it took its rise in that superstition.

Thus the religion of Mecca, in its essential points, is connected with forms of superstition strictly native to Arabia, and the natural conclusion is that it grew out of them. The process may be thus imagined. Mecca owed its origin and importance to its convenient position, mid-way between Yemen and Petra. From very remote times, the merchandise of the east and south passed through Arabia, and the vale of Mecca lay upon the usual western route. The plentiful supply of good water attracted the caravans;† it became a halting place, and then an entrepôt of commerce; a mercantile population, with the conveniences of traffic, grew up in the vicinity, and eventually a change of carriage took place there; the merchandise being conveyed to the north and to the south on different sets of camels. The carrier's hire, the frontier customs, the dues of protection,‡ and the profits of direct traffic, added capital to the city, which probably rivalled, though in a more simple and primitive style, the opulence and the extent of Petra, Jerash, or Philadelphia.§ The earliest inhabitants were (like the Catûra,

* *Hishami, p.* 27; *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I. p.* 197. Hishami notices a large stone worshipped by the Bani Malkan, at which they used to sacrifice animals. Compare also the notice of stones given above from Herodotus.

† From Burkhardt's account it appears that the level of the well of Zamzam continues the same even when there is the greatest draught upon its waters. This he ascertained by comparing the length of the rope required for the bucket in the morning, and again in the evening. The Turks regard this as a miracle, for the expenditure of water must be very great, as it is used not only by the multitudes of pilgrims, but by every family of Mecca, for drinking and ablution, though not for culinary purposes. He learned from one who had descended to repair the masonry, "that the water was *flowing* at the bottom, and that the water is therefore supplied by a subterraneous rivulet. The water is heavy in its taste, and sometimes in its colour resembles milk, but *it is perfectly sweet*, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town. When first drawn up, it is slightly tepid, resembling in this respect many other fountains in the Hejâz." (*Travels in Arabia, p.* 144. See also the *Travels of Ali Bey, Vol. II., p.* 81.) The latter makes the surface water fifty-six feet below the mouth of the well: he agrees with Burkhardt as to the temperature, but states that the water is "rather brackish and heavy, but very limpid...*It* is wholesome, nevertheless, and so abundant, that at the period of the pilgrimage, though there were thousands of pitchers full drawn, its level was not sensibly diminished." The authorities of Sale (*Preliminary Discourse, p.* 4), who make the water unwholesome and unfit for use, are evidently incorrect.

‡ *See Sprenger's Mohammed, p.* 14.

§ The only remains in the way of buildings at Mecca, besides the Kaaba, consisted of the well Zamzam, which, when the city decayed, was neglected and choked up. It was discovered and *cleared out* by Mahomet's grandfather, who recognized the

Jorhom and Khozâa, though long anterior to them,) natives of Yemen, and the incessant traffic maintained a constant intercourse between them and their mother-country. From Yemen, no doubt, they brought with them, or subsequently received, Sabeanism, stone worship, and idolatry; and these they connected with the well of Zamzam, the source of their prosperity, near which they erected their fane, with its symbolical Sabeanism and mysterious black stone. Local rites were superadded; but it was Yemen, the cradle of the Arabs, which furnished the normal elements of the institution. The mercantile eminence of Mecca, to which the Bedouins of Central Arabia were lured with their camels by the profits of the carrying trade, by degrees imparted a national character to the local superstition, till at last it became the religion of Arabia. When the southern trade deserted this channel, though the mercantile prestige of Mecca vanished, and its opulence decayed, yet the Kaaba still continued the national temple of the Peninsula. The contingent population betook themselves to the desert; and the native tribe (the ancestry of the Coreish) were over-ridden by such southern immigrants as the Jorhom and Khozâa dynasties; till at last Cussai arose to vindicate the honour, and re-establish the influence of the house of Mecca.

But according to this theory, how shall we account for the traditions current among the Arabs, that the temple and its rites were indebted for their origin to Abraham and Ishmael? This was no Moslem fiction, but the popular opinion of the Meccans before Islam. Otherwise, it could not have been referred to in the *Coran*, as an acknowledged fact; nor would the names of certain spots around the Kaaba have been connected, as we know them to have been, with Abraham and with Ishmael.*

traces of it. Its foundations and masonry must have been of great solidity and excellent structure, and it is no doubt a remnant of the works which once adorned Mecca, in its primeval prosperity.

* Dr. Sprenger attributes the Abrahamic doctrine to the religious enquirers who preceded Mahomet, and adds that these traditions were "neither ancient nor general among the pagan Arabs:" but it appears to us undoubted that such traditions were universally received in the time of Mahomet, as the names then in use, *Macâm Ibrahîm*, *Macâm Ismaîl*, &c., prove; and as they could not have gained so general a currency suddenly, the legends must be regarded as of ancient date, even in Mahomet's time. Dr. Sprenger thus argues:—"We find no connexion between the tenets of Moses, and those of the Haramites; and though biblical names are very frequent among the Mussulmans, we do not find one instance of their occurrence among the pagans of the Hejâz before Mohammed." (*Life*, *p.* 103.) But these reasons do not affect our theory: for (1), we hold that the religion of the Kaaba

The reply to the above question has been anticipated in a former paper.* It was there shown that the Yemenite Arabs early commingled very extensively with the Abrahamic tribes, and reason was seen for believing that, at a remote period, a branch descended from Abraham, and probably from Ishmael, settled at Mecca, and became allied with the Yemenite race. The Nabathean, or any other mercantile nation of this stock, attracted to Mecca by its gainful position, would bring along with it the Abrahamic legends, which intercourse with the Jews had tended to revive and perpetuate. The mingled race of Abraham and of Cahtân would require a modification of the Meccan religion, corresponding with their double descent; and this was naturally accomplished by grafting the Abrahamic legends upon the indigenous worship, and by rites of sacrifice or ceremony, perhaps now for the first time introduced, and associated with the memory of Abraham.

The Jews themselves were also largely settled in Northern Arabia, where they had considerable political influence. There were extensive colonies of them about Medîna and Kheibar, in Wadi al Cora, and on the shores of the Atlantic gulph; and they maintained a constant and friendly intercourse with Mecca and the Arab tribes, who looked with respect and veneration upon their religion and their holy books.† When

was instituted by the *Pagans themselves*; the Abrahamic tradition being simply super-imposed; and (2), it was super-imposed not by Jews or Israelites, but by Abrahamic tribes of (probably) Ishmaelitic descent, who had a very different nomenclature from that of the Jews, as is evident from Genesis. On the other hand, the affinity of Arabic with Hebrew, proves something common in origin, and (as has been before shown) renders probable the existence of Abrahamic tradition among the Arabs.

* See Article on the Aborigines of Arabia, No. xxxvii.

† The early history of Arabia gives ample proof of this. When Mahomet took Kheibar, he questioned its unfortunate Jewish chiefs as to "the utensils which they used to lend to the people of Mecca." (*Wâckidi, p.* 122.) Again the unbelieving Coreish consult the Jews as to whether their own religion is not better than Mahomet's, and are assured that it is. (*Hishâmi, pp.* 194 *and* 285—*Sura IV. v.* 49, *and Sale's note.*) Mahomet's *early* career shows much deference and veneration for the Jews; and he professed to follow their Scriptures and *true* doctrine, even to the end of his life.

In the list of Jorhom Kings we find the remarkable name of ABD AL MASIH, (76—106 A. D.), or "*servant of the Messiah.*"

M. C. de Perceval concludes that the title is a Christian one; that its bearer lived therefore after the Christian era, and that Jesus Christ was then *one of the divinities of the Hejâz.* But neither fact appears deducible from the name. It is hardly credible that at so early a period any Arab Prince assumed that title as a Christian one; it is incomparably more probable that it was of Jewish or Abrahamic origin, and was assumed at the time when the expectation of a Messiah was rife;—if indeed the name be not a mere traditional fiction. The legend, that the image of Jesus and the Virgin was sculptured on a pillar of the Kaaba,

once the loose conception of Abraham and Ishmael, super-imposed upon the Meccan superstition, had received the stamp of native currency, it will easily be conceived that even purely Jewish tradition would be eagerly welcomed and unscrupulously adopted.* By a summary and procrustean adjustment, the legends of Palestine became those of the Hejâz. The holy precincts of the Kaaba were the scene of Hagar's distress, and it was the sacred well Zamzam that brought her relief. It was Abraham and Ishmael who built the Meccan Temple, placed in it the black stone, and established for all mankind the pilgrimage to Arafat. In imitation of him it was that stones were flung; and sacrifices were offered at Minâ in remembrance of the vicarious sacrifice in the stead of his son Ishmael. And thus, although the indigenous rites may have been little, if at all, altered by the adoption of the Abrahamic legends, they came to be viewed in a totally different light, and to be connected, in the Arab imagination, with something of the purity of Abraham, the Friend of God. The gulph between the most gross idolatry and the purest theism was bridged over; and upon this common ground Mahomet, taking his stand, sounded forth his more spiritual system, in accents to which all Arabia could respond. The rites of the

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and adored by the Arabs, is not an early or a well-supported one, and in itself is improbable. Christianity never found much favor at Mecca, and Mahomet was singularly ignorant in many important respects regarding it.

* It is to this source we trace the Arab doctrine of a Supreme Being, to whom their gods and idols were subordinate. The title of *Allah Tââla*, THE MOST HIGH GOD, was commonly used before Mahomet, to designate this conception. But in some tribes, the idea had become so materialized, that a portion of their native offerings was assigned to the Great God, just as a portion was allotted to their idols. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 113.—*Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p.* 18.) The notion of a Supreme Divinity, represented by no sensible symbol, is clearly not cognate with any of the indigenous forms of Arab superstition. 'It was borrowed directly from the Jews, or some other Abrahamic race, among whom contact with the Jews had preserved or revived the knowledge of the "God of Abraham."

Familiarity with the Abrahamic races also introduced the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection from the dead; but these were held with many fantastic ideas of Arab growth. Revenge pictured the murdered soul as a bird chirping for retribution upon the murderer; and a camel was allowed to starve at the grave of his master, that he might be ready at the resurrection again to carry him upon his back!

A vast variety of Scriptural language and terminology was also in common use, or at least its meaning understood. Faith, repentance, Divine wrath, the devil and his angels, the heavenly host, Gabriel, messenger of the Lord; - are but a specimen of ideas and expressions, which, acquired from a Jewish source, were either current or ready for adoption. So were the stories of the fall of man, the flood, the destruction of the cities of the plain, &c., &c.;—so that there was an extensive substratum of crude ideas and unwrought knowledge bordering upon the dominion of the spiritual, ready to the hand of Mahomet.

Kaaba were retained by him, but emasculated of every idolatrous tendency; and they still hang, a strange unmeaning shroud, around the living theism of Islam.

We must now enumerate the chief tribes in other quarters of the Peninsula, with as much brevity as the occasional complication of the subject will permit.

The earliest historical notices of Central Arabia do not ascend beyond the middle of the fourth century of our era, that is to say, about six generations, or two hundred years, before the birth of Mahomet.

The BANI MADHIJ, a Cahlânite tribe, which afterwards settled in Najrân, issued, about the era above specified; from amongst the teeming population of Yemen, and made an incursion upon the Tihâma. The Máaddite tribes (of Meccan origin) rallied under AMIR, son of Tzarib, and repulsed the invaders. Amir, who was then elected the Ruler (Hakam) of the combined tribes, belonged to the branch of *Adwân*, which, as we have seen, possessed the office of heading the pilgrim procession, in the vale of Muzdalifa. This important tribe soon fell into decay and lost its importance.* From the period of this contest, we have no farther accounts of Central Arabia for another century, when we find a king of Yemen visiting Najd, and receiving the homage of its tribes. It has been noticed in the sketch of Yemen, that the Himyarite Kings held a sort of feudal supremacy over the central tribes. Ever and anon the Arabs rebelled, but having no general head to rally around, they as often relapsed into their state of vassalage.

In the middle of the fifth century, HOJR AKIL AL MORAR, chief of the *Kinda* (a powerful tribe of Cahlânite descent, which, issuing from Yemen, seated itself in Central Arabia,) was con-

* The uncircumcised males of the tribe at that period are given at the extravagant number of forty to sixty thousand, which would imply a population of from two to four hundred thousand. But this is absurd, the more especially as Adwân, the progenitor of the tribe, was not born more than 200 years before. It illustrates, however, the important position, that tribes, when on the ascendant, rapidly increased, by associating, under the same banner and title with themselves, other straggling tribes, attracted by the prestige of their power, and the hopes of plunder. It is thus that we must account for the extensiveness of the hordes which, in the fifth century, represented the *Bani Bakr*; *Bani Taghlib*; *Bani Hawâzin*; *Bani Ghatafan*; *Bani Sulaim*, &c., none of whose nominal progenitors was born much before 200 A. D.

Where respectable descent was wanting, a good tribe was often adopted; or endeavour was made to fabricate a claim to a good pedigree. See instances in *Wâckidi, p.* 227.—*C. de Perceval. Vol. II., p.* 491.

Burkhardt found the Bani Adwân still inhabiting the country between Jidda and Tâif: they used to muster 1,000 matchlocks, but were nearly exterminated by Mahommed Ali Pasha. "They were an ancient and noble tribe," he adds, "unequalled in the Hejâz, and intimate with the Sharîfs of Mecca." (*Travels in Arabia, p.* 240.)

stituted by his uterine brother Amr, King of Yemen, the ruler of all the tribes descended from Máadd. The most distinguished of these were the descendants of BAKR* and TAGHLIB, sons of Wâil, who, with their various sub-divisions, were located in Yemâma, Bahrein, Najd, and the Tihâma. Hojr waged a successful war with Hîra, and conquered from it a part of Bahrein, claimed by the Bani Bakr. He enjoyed the title of King, and ruled from 460 to 480 A. D.

To him succeeded his son AMR AL MACSUR, (480—495 A. D.) but he failed in retaining the Máaddite tribes under his allegiance, which was recognized for the most part only by his own race, the Bani Kinda. The claims of Yemen to a feudal tax were pressed with too great harshness, and twice, upon the plains of Sullân† (481 A. D.) and Khazâz, (492 A. D.) the Kindaite ruler, supported by the troops of Yemen, was repulsed by the Arabs.‡ Amr al Macsur was killed in a battle fought against Hârith V.§ of the Ghassân dynasty.

The Bakr and Taghlib tribes, rejoicing in the independence secured in these battles by their victorious arms, chose KOLEIB (492—494 A. D.) chief of the Bani Taghlib, to be their ruler.‖ But Koleib was haughty and overbearing, and he wantonly killed the milch camel of Basûs, a female relative of his wife, who was of Bani Bakr lineage. This, and other acts of indignity, roused the vengeance of the Bani Bakr, who slew Koleib. The two tribes were now marshalled one against the other; and the struggle, famous under the name of the *war of Basûs* (so called after the injured female), lasted long, with various success, and was not finally extinguished for forty years.

Meanwhile the Máaddite tribes, weary of the prevailing anarchy, returned to their Himyarite allegiance, and placed themselves under the rule of the Kindaite Prince HARITH, (495—524 A. D.,) son of Amr al Macsur.

This is the Hârith, whose invasion of Syria and temporary conquest of Hîra, have been recounted before.¶ His strange career was closed by defeat and death, about 524 A. D. His

* This tribe must be distinguished from the Bani Bakr, descendants of a grandson of Kinâna, who assisted in the expulsion of the Jorhomites from Mecca.

† *Sullân* lay to the south of the Hedjâz, and the east of Najd, towards Yamâma.

‡ Some verses of Zohair, a poet of the Bani Kalb, and the Yemenite Governor of the Bani Bakr and Taghlib, are preserved, with reference to these actions, in which he himself was engaged.

§ This prince, it will be remembered, was the son of Mâria Dzul Curtain, (Maria of the earrings,) sister of Amr al Macsur's mother.

‖ They awarded him one of the signs of sovereignty, viz., a fourth part of the booty. Mahomet secured a fifth.

¶ See page 25.

sons succeeded him, but by imprudence and disunion, they soon divested themselves of their hereditary influence. The Bani Taghlib, as partizans of one brother, vanquished the Bani Bakr, the supporters of another, in the celebrated action of *Kulâb the First*, (526 A. D.); and the Bani Bakr, after their defeat, sought for protection under the supremacy of the Kings of Hîra.

The dynasty of Himyar had now sunk under the invading force of the Abyssinians (525 A. D.): and the African rulers of Yemen, failing to command the respect or obedience which prescriptive right had accorded to the time-honored lineage of Cahtân, the tribes of Central Arabia one by one transferred their allegiance to the Court of Hîra. In the year 534 A. D., the Bani Taghlib followed the Bani Bakr in this course; and peace was enforced between the two tribes, by Mundzir III., Prince of Hîra, whose common authority they owned. The amnesty was proclaimed at Mecca; a treaty was recorded and signed; and eighty youths of either tribe were sent as hostages to Hîra, and renewed year by year. The Bani Bakr continued to live about Yamâma and the shores of the Persian Gulph, but the Bani Taghlib migrated to Mesopotamia. It was subsequent to this that Amr III. of Hîra was slain by a Taghlib warrior-poet, Amr ibn Colthum,* for a supposed insult offered to his mother. Thenceforward the Bani Taghlib were the enemies of Hîra, and to escape the vengeance of Amr's successor, they removed to Syria. But on the opening of Islam, we find them again in Mesopotamia, professing the Christian faith.† In 632 A. D., they attached themselves to the false prophetess Sejâ, and after a prolonged struggle, submitted to the Moslem yoke. The Bani Bakr, as we have seen, continued faithful to Hîra to the last, and in 511 A. D., they gloriously avenged the murder of Nomân V. by the Persian king, in the battle of Dzu Cûr, and achieved independence for themselves. A portion of them (the Bani Hanîfa) had embraced Christianity, but the whole tribe seems voluntarily to have submitted to Islam, during the life-time of Mahomet.‡

* This Amr is famous for his *Moëllaca*, or "suspended poem," which was recited at the fair of Ocâtz. His tribe doted on it; and it used to be repeated even by the children long after his death.

† They sent a deputation to Mahomet, the members of which wore golden crosses. They were allowed to maintain, unchanged, *their* profession of Christianity, but not to baptize their children, or bring them up as Christians;—a fatal concession!

‡ Some of the most famous of the Arab poets belong to the Bakr and Taghlib tribes, and their poems have rendered famous the war of Basûs, and the long train of hostilities which followed. Thus there are ascribed poems of the class *Moëllacât* to *Tarafa*, *Hârith* ibn Hiliza, and *Maimûn* al Ashâ, all of the Bakr tribe, and to *Amr* ibn Colthum, of the Bani Taghlib.

We must now go back and take a glance at the fortunes of the house of Kinda. We left the sons of Hârith at variance among themselves. They were pursued with relentless hate by Mundzir III., of Hîra (526—530 A. D.), in whose breast the injuries inflicted by Hârith in his invasion still rankled. Crushed by such persecutions, the illustrious dynasty of Akil al Morâr was soon all but exterminated; and there survived only an insignificant branch, which continued to rule for half a century longer, over a part of Bahrein. The history of this period is enlivened by the romantic tale of IMRUL CAYS, the brother of Hârith, who united in his person the two princely Arab qualities of poetry and heroism. In the noble attempt of raising troops to revenge the death of his father, Amr al Macsur, he repaired as a suppliant to every friendly tribe in Arabia; and his checquered career,—now received with distinction, or heading a victorious band,—again routed, and hunted as a wild beast over the deserts by the enmity of Hîra,—ends at the last in his seeking for succour at the Court of Constantinople. He died on his way back (540 A.D.) and his touching poem, ranked among the *Moällacât,* contains many beautiful allusions to his melancholy history.*

The chieftainship of the Kindite tribe devolved on a junior branch of the family, which resided in Hadhramaut, and assisted towards the expulsion of the Abyssinians and restoration of the house of Himyar. On the first appearance of Islam, we find CAYS ruling over the Bani Kinda there, and his son *Al Ashâth,* with the whole clan, joined Mahomet, A. D. 631.†

Another set of tribes, the descendants of Cays Aylan‡ of the Meccan stock, now demand our attention: they are divided in-

* An interesting coincidence may here be observed between Arab history and the Grecian writers. Procopius and Nonnosus mention an embassy to Abyssinia from Justinian, A. D. 531, the object of which was to endeavour, through the Yemenite Viceroy of the Abyssinian King, to reinstate a prince called CAYS, in the command of the *Kindinians and Máaddenians,* and give him troops to fight against the Persians Here we identify Imrul *Cays,* whom the Greeks sought to restore to his Arab chieftainship, and aid against the Persian vassal of Hira. Other coincidences of names may be traced in *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 316.

The Arabs tell us that when Imrul Cays went to Constantinople, he left his daughter arms, &c., with Samuel the Jew, in his fort of Ablak, near to Tayma, in Northern Arabia. This noble Jew was attacked by the Ghassânide king, Hârith the Lame, who demanded the deposit, and threatened to slay the son of Samuel before him, if he refused The Jew was immovable, and the "*faith* of Samuel" has hence become proverbial among the Arabs.

Arab writers say that the Emperor of Constantinople, jealous at the reports of the intimacy of Imrul Cays with his daughter, gave him a tunic which, like that of Hercules, consumed his body. He died in fact of ulcers. The legend shows to how late a date (540 A. D.) *fiction* mingles with Arabian *history.*

† See *Wâckidi, p.* 64, and *Hishâmi, p.* 426; where their embassy is described.

‡ The patriarchs, Ghatafan and Hawâzin, were contemporaries of Fihr Coreish (born A.D. 200). Their ancestor Aylân was the grandson of Modhar, who was the grandson of Máadd.

to two great branches, the GHATAFAN and the KHASAFA, connected, but at some distance, with the Coreish. The chief families of the Ghatafan were the *Bani Dzobiân* and the *Bani Abs*: those of the Khasafa were the *Bani Sulaim* (who lived near Mecca, and with whom Mahomet was put out to nurse) and the *Hawâzin:* the latter again were sub-divided into the *Thackif*, who inhabited Tâif, and the *Bani Amir* ibn Sássáa. Excepting the Bani Thackîf, these were all of Nomad habits; and their range of pasturage extended over the portions of Najd and its mountain chain adjoining on the Hejâz, from Kheibar and Wadi al Cora, to the parallel of Mecca.

Our earliest notices of these tribes commence in the middle of the sixth century, when, after the fall of the Kindaite dynasty, we find the "king" of the Bani Abs in command of the whole of the Bani Ghatafan, and also of the Hawâzin. He formed an alliance with Nomân IV., of Hîra, who took his daughter in marriage; but his eldest son, in returning from her convoy, was murdered, and the marriage presents plundered by a branch of the Hawâzin. Hostilities arose, the Absite Prince was assassinated (A.D. 567), and thenceforward the Bani Hawâzin secured their independence.

The Bani Abs, ready for revenge, were diverted by a fresh cause of offence in another quarter. Cays, their chief, in a marauding expedition, had plundered from the Bani Tamîr a horse of matchless speed, called Dâhis. Hodzeifa, chief of the Dzobiân (their sister tribe), vaunted his horse Ghabra as superior, and a wager and match were the result. The Dzobiân party, by an ignoble stratagem, checked the steed of Cays, and Ghabra first reached the goal. A fierce dispute arose as to the palm of victory, and the disposal of the stakes. Arab pride and revenge soon kindled into warfare, and such was the origin (568 A. D.) of the disastrous *war of Dahis*, which for forty years embroiled and wasted the tribes of Ghatafan and Hawâzin.* For some time hostilities raged with various success; at last a truce was concluded, and the Bani Abs delivered a number of their children as hostages into the hands of the Bani Dzobiân, but Hodzeifa treacherously slew the innnocent pledges of his foe, and (A. D. 576) the war was rekindled afresh. In the battle of *Hubâa*, the Bani Abs were vic-

* This war is very famous in Arab history and poesy, which delights to expatiate on all the attendant circumstances. The detailed account given by M. C. de Perceval, is highly illustrative of the fiery pride of Arab chivalry. The history and parentage of the ill-starred Dâhis is traced with a curious minuteness, which would be found in few nations but Arabia. The expression أشأم من داحس —*More ill-omened than Dahis*, became proverbial.

torious, and Hodzeifa,* with his brothers, expiated his treachery with their lives. But the bloody revenge of the Absites overshot the mark. So extensive was their slaughter of the Dzobiân chiefs, that the other Ghatafan clans conspired to crush the murderous tribe. The Bani Abs, alarmed at the combination, forsook their usual haunts, and wandered forth to seek an asylum, which, after many repulses from various tribes, they found with the Bani Amir, a Hawâzin tribe.

But meanwhile the Bani Amir had become embroiled in hostilities with an independent tribe, the *Bani Tamîm* (of Meccan origin, who occupied the north-eastern desert of Najd, from the confines of Syria to Yemâma); and had vanquished them in the notable battle of Rahrahân (578 A. D.) The Tamîm now coalesced with the Dzobiân, and, instigated by a common enmity, sought to humble the Bani Amir, along with their refugees, the Bani Abs. Fearful of the issue of so unequal a combat, the two latter tribes retired to a strong mountain called Jabala, where, behind a steep and narrow gorge, they awaited the attack. The Bani Tamîm and Dzobiân came blindly forward, their opponents rushed forth, and though inferior in numbers, put them completely to rout. Such was the decisive battle of *Sheb Jabala*, fought in 579 A. D.†

The fortunate connexion of the Bani Abs with the Bani Amir continued for many years. At last the seeds of mutual dissatisfaction having been sown, the Absites separated themselves, and began to long for peace with their Dzobiânite brethren. After many difficulties, and the exercise by several distinguished men, of a most magnanimous devotion to the public good,‡ a con-

* The only brother who escaped was Hisn, father of Ueina, chief of the Fezâra (a Dzobiânite tribe), who becomes famous in the time of Mahomet.

† Amir ibn Tofail, Chief of the Bani Amir, in Mahomet's time, was born on the rocky crest of Jabala, whither the females had been for safety removed, just as the victory was secured. The Mahometan writers place this engagement at an earlier date, some in the year of Mahomet's birth, others as far back as 533 A. D. In refuting this erroneous calculation, M. C. de Perceval has the following remarks of general applicability "En général, dans toute l'histoire antéislamique, les Arabes ont exagéré l'antiquité des faits, comme la durée de la vie des personnages" (*Vol. II., p.* 484.)

‡ Thus *Zohair* ibn Abu Solma, a contemporary poet of the Mozeina, celebrates the magnanimity of Hârith and Hârim, two Dzobiânite chiefs, who charged themselves with supplying 3,000 camels required in payment of the blood-shed in this long war. After the negotiations had been interrupted by a perfidious murder, Hârith brought 100 camels (the full fine or price of blood,) along with his own son, to the father of the murdered person, and said, *choose between the blood* (of my son) *and the milk* (of the camels.) The man chose the camels, and the negotiations went on. There were many other famous poets during the war of Dâhis; and none more so than the warrior *Antara*, whose feats have been transmitted to modern Arabs in the apocryphal but charming "Romance of Antar." His *Moällaca* is still extant. *Labîd*, the satirist of the Bani Amir stock; and *Nâbigha* Dzobiâni (so styled from his tribe,) are also worthy of mention as distinguished poets.

clusive peace was effected, A. D. 609; and the war of Dâhis came to an end.

The Bani Abs and Dzobiân now united, together with the Bani Ashjâ, another Ghatafan tribe, against the Bani Amir and other Hawâzin clans; and a long continued warfare, marked, as usual, by assassinations and petty engagements, but distinguished by no general action, prevailed between them, till the rise of Mahomet's power.

The following is the sequel of the Bani Tamîm's history. After the battle of Sheb Jabala, they fell out with their neighbours the Bani Bakr (Wâil,) who, in a year of famine, trespassed on their pastures; and several battles, but without any important issue, were fought between them, in 604 A. D., and the following years. In 609, the Persian Governor of a neighbouring fortress, to punish the Bani Tamîm for the plunder of a Yemenite caravan, enticed into his castle and slew a great number of their tribe. Thus crippled and disgraced, they retired to Colayb, on the confines of Yemen, where they were attacked by the combined forces of the Bani Kinda, the Bani Hârith of Najrân, and some Kodhâaite tribes; but they repulsed them in a glorious action, called *Çolayb the second*, fought A. D. 612. Inspirited by this success, they returned to their former country, and again entered into hostilities with the Bani Bakr. From 615 to 630 A. D., several battles occurred; but in the latter year both parties sent embassies to Mahomet. The Bani Bakr, meanwhile, foreseeing that under the new faith their mutual enmities would be crushed, resolved to have a last passage of arms with their foes. The battle of Shaitain (end of 630 A. D.) was a bloody and fatal one to the Bani Tamîm, and they repaired to Mahomet, denouncing the Bani Bakr, and imploring his maledictions against them. But the Prophet declined, by such a proceeding, to alienate a hopeful adherent, and shortly after received the allegiance of the Bani Bakr, as well as of the Tamîm.

Two independent tribes, more or less Christian, deserve a separate notice. These were the Bani Tay, and Bani Hârith, both descended from Cahlân, and collateral therefore with the Bani Kinda.

The BANI TAY emigrated from Yemen into Najd, probably in the third century of our era; and moving northwards, seated themselves by the mountains of *Ajâ* and *Salma*, and the town of *Tayma*. The influence of their Jewish neighbours in that quarter, led some of them to adopt Judaism; others went over to Christianity: and the remainder adhered to their ancient paganism, and erected between their two hills a temple to the

divinity *Fuls*. We know little of this tribe till the beginning of the seventh century, when we find its two branches, *Ghauth* and *Jadîla*, arrayed against each other, on account of the disputed restitution of a camel. After some engagements, (which are termed the war of *Fasád*, or discord,) the Jadîla emigrated to the Bani Kalb al Dûma, and thence to Kinnasrîn (Chalcis) in Syria. They sojourned long there; but at last, after the dissensions with their sister tribe had continued twenty-five years, peace was restored, and they returned to their former seat. In 632 A. D., the whole tribe embraced Islam. The two famous chieftains, Hâtim Tay, and Zeid al Kheil, belonged to the Bani Ghauth. The former is supposed to have died between 610 and 620 A. D., the latter embraced Islam, and his name was changed by Mahomet from Zeid al Kheil (*i.e., famous for his horses,*) to Zeid al Kheir (*the Beneficent*).

The BANI HARITH were a clan descended from the Cahlânite stock of the *Bani Madhij*. They must have emigrated from Yemen at a very early date, as they were seated in *Najran* (between Yemen and Najd,) when the Azdites, about 120 A. D., moved northwards; and they skirmished with them. We find that the Bani Harith were settled in the persuasion of Christianity in the time of Mahomet. Baronius refers their conversion, but with little probability, to the Mission of Constantius to the Himyar court, already noticed as having occurred A. D. 343. The Arabs attribute it to the unwearied labours, and miraculous powers of a Missionary called *Feimiyûn*, and his convert, the martyr *Abdallah*;* and M. C. de Perceval, as well as Assemani, concludes that Christianity was generally adopted in Najrân about the close of the fifth century. Under the reign of Dzu Nowâs, we have recounted how that cruel prince, in his endeavours to impose Judaism upon its people, perpetrated an inhuman and treacherous massacre of the Christians. Nevertheless, the Bani Hârith stedfastly held to their faith, and were prosperously and peaceably advancing under Episcopal supervision, when Mahomet summoned them to Islam.

* See the story told at length in Hishami, where some of the miracles are mentioned, such as the overthrow of a large tree worshipped by the people, (*pp.* 10—13.) The Martyr, Abdallah ibn Thâmir, is known to the Church under the name of Arethas, son of Caleb; probably his Arab name (Hârith ibn Kâb) before baptism. The king of Najrân resorted to every expedient to kill this convert, cast him from precipices, and plunged him into deep waters, but his life was proof against every attempt, till at last, by Abdallah's own direction, the king confessed the unity of the Deity: and then a blow inflicted on the martyr's head, immediately proved fatal! Others again say that Abdallah escaped, and that he was one of the martyrs of Dzu Nowâs. (Cnf. *M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 129, *and Gibbon's Decline and Fall, end of chap. XLII., note f.*)

One of their Bishops, *Abul Hâritha*, was in the deputation which (A. D. 630) was sent by this tribe to the Prophet. *Coss*, the famous orator, whom the youthful Mahomet heard at the fair of Ocâtz, was likewise a Bishop of Najrân.*

It remains to conclude this sketch of the Arab tribes, by a notice of YATHREB or MEDINA.

According to the Arab legend, the whole of this part of Arabia belonged, originally, to the *Amalekites*, (in whom we recognize the Abrahamic races of other than Israelitish descent;) but it was invaded by the Jews, and Yathreb (so called after an Amalekite chief,) passed, like Kheibar and other neighbouring places, into their hands. Wild legends, adapted from the Jewish Scriptures, profess to explain the cause of the Jewish invasion; the times of Moses, of Joshua, of Samuel, and of David, are with equal assurance and equal probability stated by different traditionists. *We* need not to go so far back. The inroads of Nebuchadnezzar, and his sack of Jerusalem; the attack of Pompey, sixty-four years before the Christian era, and of Titus, seventy years after it; and the bloody retribution inflicted upon the Jews by Hadrian, 136 A.D., are some of the later causes which, we know, dispersed the Jews, and drove a portion into Arabia.† Such fugitive Jews were the Bani Nadhîr, the Coraitza, their neighbours the Caynocâa, &c., who, finding Yathreb to be peopled by a weak race of Codhâite and other Bedouin tribes, incapable of offering much resistance, settled there, and built for themselves large and fortified houses.‡

About the year 300 A.D., the clans of the Aws and Khazraj alighted at the same settlement, and were admitted by alliance, to share in the territory. At first weak and inferior to the Jews, these tribes began, at length, to grow in numbers;§ and as they encroached upon the rich fields and date plantations of the Jews, disputes and enmity sprang up between them. The new-comers, headed by MALIK, son of Ajlân,‖ chief of

* *Sprenger, p.* 38—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p.* 159.

† See also the Jewish settlement in Mount Seir, which ejected the Amalekites. 1. *Chron.* iv. 42, 43.

‡ These houses were capable of resisting the attack of troops; they were called *otâm*.

§ Of the numerous tribes into which they were soon divided, the names of Aws *Monâ*, and Taym *Allât*, are significant of the keeping up of the same idolatrous worship as that of the Mâaddite tribes. Mahomet changed their names into *Aws Allah* and *Taym Allah*.

‖ See Wâckidi, p. 287.

the Khazraj, sought and obtained succour from their Syrian brethren (the Bani Ghassân); and craftily enticed the principal Jewish chiefs into an enclosed tent, where they were massacred. The simple Jews were again beguiled into security by a treacherous peace, and while attending a feast given by their wily foes, a second butchery took place, in which they lost the whole of their chief men. Thus, about the close of the fifth century, the Aws and Khazraj became masters of Yathreb, and ejected the Jews from such of their holdings as they chose.

It was shortly after these events that Yathreb was unexpectedly attacked by a Prince called Abu Karib; but whether to punish the Aws and Khazraj for their attack upon the Jews, or for what other cause, is not very apparent.* The invader sent for the four chief personages† of the Awsites; and they, expecting to be invested with the command of Yathreb, repaired to his camp at Ohod,‡ where they were massacred, with the exception of one who escaped to his defenced house, and there defied the attacks of the treacherous Prince. This was OHAIHA, who became chief of the Bani-Aws, as Mâlik was of the Khazraj. Abu Karib prosecuted his attack, destroyed some of the date plantations, and brought his archery to bear upon the fortified houses, in which the stumps of the arrows then shot, were still visible in the early days of Islam.§ At last, falling sick, or despairing of success, he made peace with

* The poetical remains give the invader only the title of *Abu Karib*. The historians or traditionists will have it, that it was *Abu Karib Tibban Asad*, King of Yemen, who flourished in the beginning of the third century, or nearly 200 years before the era of this expedition. We have seen, under the sketch of Yemen, that this incursion must have occurred about the reign of Dzu Nowâs; and as he was so bigoted a Jew, its object was perhaps to punish the Aws and Khazraj, for their cruel and treacherous attacks upon the Jews. This, however, is only a conjecture; as the native authorities do not hint at it; excepting by one tradition, which makes Dzu Nowâs to have *embraced* Judaism in consequence of a visit to Yathreb;—another assertion is that the *Ghityun*, or head of the Jews, was the cousin and representative of the king whose authority the Hejâz recognized, but the precise meaning of this is not clear. Procopius mentions an Αβοχαριβος, who was at this time master of the northern Hejâz, and offered the sovereignty of it to Justinian. (See p. 36.) The name and date afford some presumption of identity.

† Among these were "the three Zeids," chiefs of the Awsites, and all bearing that appellation.

‡ He pitched below the hill of Ohod, where he dug a well; but its water did not agree with him. It was long after known as "the Tabba's well." (*Vide Journal Asiatique, Nov.*, 1838, *p.* 439.)

§ There is a paper worthy of perusal on Ohaiha, by M. Perron, in the Journal Asiatique, November 1838, p. 443. One of the houses at Medina was so bristled with the arrows then shot into it, that it received and retained the name of *Al Ashâr*, "the hairy." It belonged to the Banî Adî, and was situated near the spot where Mahomet afterwards built his mosque.

the Aws and Khazraj, and departed. As he left, he made over the provisions and baggage of his camp to a woman, who had supplied him with sweet water from Yathreb: she thus became the richest female in her tribe, and (which seems almost incredible,) continued such until the rise of Islam.*

The Aws and Khazraj, thus established in power, did not long remain on terms of amity with each other. The fifth century had not yet expired, when disputes arose on the relative dignity of Ohaiha and Mâlik, and on the amount of blood-fine to be paid for the murder of an adherent of the latter. Battles were fought, and for twenty or thirty years a constant enmity prevailed.† At last (520—525 A.D.,) the father (according to some the grand-father) of Hassân the poet, being elected umpire, decided in favor of the Awsites, though himself a Khazrajite; and to prevent farther dispute, paid the disputed portion of the fine.‡

The peace thus secured, continued for a long series of years. But in 583 A. D., hostilities again broke out. The ostensible cause was the murder of a Khazrajite, or of a Jew under Khazrajite protection. At first the hostilities were unimportant, and confined to clubs and lampoons.§ By and bye they became more serious; the Bani Khazraj defeated their opponents, and slew one of their chiefs,

* *See Journal Asiatique, loc. cit., p.* 447—*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 656. The latter suggests with probability that, instead of the rise of Islam, the *birth* of the Prophet of Islam is meant. It is strange how the expedition is throughout confounded with that of Tibbân Asad, and yet all the names of the Medina actors, as well as the incidents, the memory and marks of which were still fresh, when Mahomet went to Medina, manifestly require a date at least two centuries later than that Prince. The reason assigned for the departure of the invader, is the same as in that of the ancient invasion; *i e.*, that two Rabbins informed him that Medina would be the refuge of a great Prophet, &c. It is curious that neither the annals of Medina nor of Mecca throw any satisfactory light on this later invasion; though Abu Carib, if a King of Yemen, must have passed by Mecca to get to Medina. As the event occurred within three quarters of a century before the birth of Mahomet, the confusion and uncertainty cannot but affect our confidence in the ancient history of the Hejâz altogether.

† It was during this period, that Ohaiha, who had gained much riches and power by merchandise, planned an attack upon the Bani Najjâr, a Khazraj family, to which his wife *Solma* belonged. Solma gave secret intimation to her parents, and Ohaiha found them prepared for his attack. He afterwards divorced her, and then she married Hâshim, and became the great grandmother of Mahomet. *(Wâckidi, p.* 14.*)*

‡ One of the conditions of this peace was *security of domicile*, which even in war was never to be violated. Every murder within a private enclosure was to bear the usual blood-fine. Mahomet did not much respect this right.

§ Amr, a Khazrajite, repaired at this period to Hira, and obtained from that Court (the supremacy of which was now acknowledged in the Hejâz,) the title of Prince, in order to put a stop to this discord; but the attempt was unsuccessful. The mode in which the satirists abused each other was peculiar. Thus Hassân addressed amorous poetry to the sister of Cays, extolling her beauty; and Cays similarly sang in praise of the daughter of Hassân's wife. A similar practice was one of the charges brought against Kâb, the Jew, who was assassinated by Mahomet's orders.

Suweid ibn Sâmit,* and expelled an Awsite tribe from the city. Bloody encounters occurred, and either party looked for succour to the Jews, but they remained neuter; and the Khazrajites, to secure their neutrality, took forty of their children as hostages. But animated by a rare barbarity, the most of the Khazraj chiefs murdered their hostages,† and thus decided the Jews of the Coreitza and Nadhir tribes, to side at once with the Awsites, and to receive with open arms their expelled tribe. Both sides now prepared vigorously for a decisive battle. The Bani Aws sought for aid from the Coreish at Mecca, but they declined to war against the Khazrajites;‡ they gained, however, reinforcements from two Ghassânite tribes, from the Mozeina,§ and from their Jewish allies, the Coreitza and Nadhir. The Bani Khazraj were supported by the Joheina‖ (a Codhâite tribe) and the Bani Ashjâ (a branch of the Ghatafan), and by the Jewish stock of Caynocâa. Thus, in the year 615 A. D.,¶ was fought the memorable action of Bóâth.** At first the Awsites were struck with terror, and fled towards the valley of Oraidh††. But their chief *Hodheir* al Ketaib, in indignant despair, pierced himself and fell:‡‡ and at this sight the Bani Aws, impelled by shame, returned to the charge with such determination, that they dispersed the Khazraj and their allies with great slaughter; and refrained from the carnage only on their cry for mercy. But they burned down some of their date plantations, and were with difficulty restrained from razing to the ground their fortified houses.

* This man had a conversation with Mahomet at Mecca, when he was canvassing there publicly for his faith, and is said to have died a Moslem. (*Hishâmi, p.* 141.—*Tabari, p.* 158.—*Wackidi, p.* 287½.) He was killed by a Codhâaite, and his son (who with the murderer, both became Mussulmans,) took the opportunity of revenging his father's death, by a blow, while both he and his victim were together, side by side, at Ohod. It was proved, and Mahomet put him to death as the slayer of a believer, at the gate of the mosque at Coba.

† Abdallah ibn Obey, afterwards Mahomet's great opponent at Medina, rejected with horror the proposal to murder his hostages, and persuaded several other chiefs to do likewise. He was dissatisfied with the conduct of his tribe, and took no part in their subsequent proceedings, nor in the battle of Bóâth.

‡ Mahomet took occasion to address this embassy, and presented to them the claims of his religion, but with little success.

§ See this tribe noticed in Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia, p. 458, as living N.E. of Medina. They were a Bani Modhar tribe, somewhat distant from the Coreish.

‖ This tribe is also noticed by Burkhardt as inhabiting the vicinity of Yenbo, and being able to furnish good matchlock men. (*Notes on the Bedouins, p.* 229.)

¶ See *Wâckidi, p.* 296, where the era is given as six years prior to the Hegira.

** Bóâth was situated in the possession of the Bani Coreitza.

†† This spot is mentioned by Burkhardt as one hour's walk N. E. of Medina, in the direction of Ohod. (*Travels, p.* 458.)

‡‡ *Wackidi, p.* 296, *Al Ketaib* was an honorary title of supremacy.

The Khazraj were humbled and enfeebled, but not reconciled. No open engagement after this occurred: but numerous assassinations from time to time gave token of the existing ill-blood. Wearied with the dissensions, both parties were about to choose Abdullah ibn Obey as their chief or king, when the advent of Mahomet produced an unexpected change in the social relations of Medîna.

A survey, thus extensive and detailed, of the Peninsula and its border states, was requisite for forming a judgment of the relations in which Arabia stood towards her coming prophet.

The first peculiarity, which upon review attracts attention, is the sub-division of the Arabs into innumerable independent bodies, all governed by the same code of honor and morals, exhibiting the same manners, and speaking, for the most part, the same language, but possessed of no cohesive principle; restless, and generally at war, each with some other tribe; and even where united by blood or by interest, ever ready, at the most insignificant cause, to separate, as by an atomic repulsiveness, and abandon themselves to an implacable hostility. These qualities made Arabia to exhibit, like a kaleidescope, an ever varying scene of combination and repulsion, and had hitherto rendered abortive every attempt at a general union. The Kinda Government, though backed by a powerful dynasty, fell to pieces after a brief duration, and neither the Himyar Sovereigns, nor after them, the Court of Hîra, could effect more than the casual recognition of a general species of feudal supremacy. The freedom of Arabia from foreign conquest, was owing, not only to the difficulties of its parched and pathless wilds, but to the interminable number of independent clans, and the absence of any head or chief power, which might be made the object of subjugation. The problem had yet to be determined, by what force these tribes could be drawn to one common centre; and it was solved by Mahomet, who invented a religio-political system, from elements common to all Arabia, and set it in motion by the inducement,—irresistible by an Arab—of endless war and plunder.

The prospects of Ante-Mahometan Arabia were equally unfavourable to the hope of religious movement or national regeneration. The substratum of Arab faith was a deep-rooted idolatry, which for many centuries had stood proof, with no sensible effect, against the most zealous attempts at evangelization from Egypt and from Syria. Several causes increased the insensibility with which the Arabs listened to the Gospel.

A dense fringe of hostile Judaism neutralized upon the northern frontier the efforts of Christian propagandism, and afforded shelter to Central Arabia. The connexions of the Jews extended far southwards, and were met at the opposite extremity of the peninsula by the Judaism of Yemen, which was long protected by the Government of the land, and even at times sought itself to proselytize the tribes of Arabia.

But worse than this, the idolatry of Mecca had formed a compromise with Judaism, and had admitted enough of its semi-Scriptural legends, and, perhaps, of its tenets also, to steel the national mind against any Christian appeal. Simple idolatry is comparatively powerless against the attacks of reason and the Gospel, but when welded together with some principles of truth, it becomes far more impervious to human agency. The authority of Abraham for the worship of the Kaaba, and the precious legacy of his divinely inculcated rites, would be a triumphant reply to the invitations either of Judaism or of Christianity. But the Christianity of the seventh century was itself decrepit and corrupt. It was disabled by contending schisms, and had substituted the puerilities of debasing superstition, for the pure and expansive evangelism of the early ages. What could then be hoped from such an agent?

The state of Northern Arabia, which had been long the battle-field of Persia and the Empire, was peculiarly unfavourable to Christian effort. Alternately swept by the armies of Chosroes, and of Constantinople, of Hîra, and of the Ghassânides, the Syrian frontier presented little opportunity for the advance of peaceful Christianity.

The vagrant habits of the Nomads themselves eluded the stedfast importunity of Missionary endeavour; while their haughty spirit and revengeful code, equally refused to brook the humble and forgiving precepts of Christian morality. Not that a nominal adhesion to Christianity, as to any other religion, might not be obtained without participation in its spirit, or subjection to its inner requirements: but such a formal submission could have resulted alone from the political supremacy of a Christian power, not from the spiritual suasion of a religious agency. Let us look then to the external political inducements which bore upon Arabia.

To the *north*, we find that Egypt and Syria, representing the Roman Empire, exercised but a remote and foreign influence upon Arabian affairs, and even that was continually neutralized by the victories and antagonism of Persia. The weight of Constantinople, if ever brought to bear directly upon the affairs of Arabia, was but lightly felt, and passed transiently

off.* The kingdom of Ghassân, upon the borders of Syria, was indeed at once Arab and Christian, but it yielded to Hîra the palm of supremacy, and never exercised any important bearing on the affairs of Central Arabia.

If we turn to the *North-east*, we observe, it is true, that the Christian aspect had improved by the conversion of the Hîra Court, and many of its subordinate tribes; and the influence of Hîra permeated Arabia. But Hîra itself was the vassal of Persia; and its native dynasty having lately fallen, had been replaced by a Satrap from the Court of Persia, which was a strong opponent of Christianity. The relations of Pagan Persia with the Arabs were uninterrupted, intimate, and effective, and entirely counter-balanced those of the Christian West.

To the *South*, Christianity had met with an important loss. The prestige of a Monarchy—though an Abyssinian one—was gone; and in its room had arisen a Persian Satrapy, under the shadow of which the old Himyar idolatry, and once royal Judaism, flourished apace.† On the *East* there was indeed the Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, but it was divided from Arabia by the Red Sea, and the negro race would not, even in

* The most prominent instance of Roman interference is the alleged appointment of Othman abu al Herweirith, as king of Mecca: but the account appears to be very apocryphal. At any rate, the authority of Othman was but short-lived. (*See Sprenger, p.* 44.) There are very few other allusions to Roman influence in Arab concerns. The Emperor made a treaty with the marauder Hârith, the Kindaite chief: but it was because of his invasion of Syria. (*M. C. de Perceval, Vol. II., p.* 290.) Hashim, Mahomet's great grandfather, concluded a mercantile treaty with the Emperor, (*Wâckidi, p.* 13:) and there were no doubt international arrangements on the border for the security of the commerce and regulation of the custom dues. But these influences hardly crossed the boundary; and neither did those connected with the Roman legions at Duma, or the *Equites Saraceni Thamudeni*, referred to above. Occasionally a refugee, such as Imrul Cays, or Mundzir, repaired to the Court of Constantinople; but that court was never able to turn such events to any profitable account in its connexions with Arabia.

† Gibbon thus marks the importance of the fall of the Christian Government of the Abyssinians in Yemen:—

"This narrative, of obscure and remote events, is not foreign to the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. If a Christian power had been maintained in Arabia, Mahomet must have been crushed in his cradle, and Abyssinia would have prevented a revolution, which has changed the civil and religious state of the world." (*Decline and Fall; close of Chapter XLII.*)

The conclusion drawn by Gibbon is a very doubtful one. It is questionable whether Mahomet would not himself have looked to the continuance of a Christian power in Yemen, as a contingency the most favorable to his great scheme. There is no point more remarkable in Mahomet's character than the adroitness with which he at first represented himself as the adherent and supporter of opposing systems, and won over their partizans. It was thus he treated the Christians of Arabia, who at first believed he would secure to them the enjoyment of their Christianity intact; it was thus he treated, and was welcomed by, the Christian king of Abyssinia; and he would no doubt have played the same with any Christian Government in Yemen. It was not from Christianity, but from idolatry and Judaism, that opposition to Mahomet's system emanated.

a more favorable position, have exercised much influence upon the Arab mind.*

Thus the Star of Christianity was not in the ascendant: nay, in some repects, its was waning. There was no hope of a change from the high hand of political supremacy; while the prevalence of an influential Judaism, and of a rampant national idolatry, rendered the conversion of Arabia, indeed, a doubtful and a distant prospect. During the youth of Mahomet, the aspect of the Peninsula was strongly conservative, and, perhaps, was never at any period more hopeless.

It is a ready failing of the human mind, after the occurrence of an event, to conclude that the event could not otherwise have occurred. Mahomet arose, and aroused the Arabs to a new and a spiritual faith; the conclusion is immediately drawn, that all Arabia had been fermenting for the change; that all Arabia was quite prepared to adopt it; and that the Arabs were on the very point of striking out for themselves the ready path to truth, when Mahomet anticipated them; but only by a few years at most.† To us, calmly reviewing the past, every token of pre-islamite history belies the position. After five centuries of Christian evangelism, we can point to but a sprinkling of Christian converts; the Bani Hârith of Najrân; the Bani Hanîfa of Yemâma: some of the Bani Tay at Tayma; and hardly any more.‡ Judaism, vastly more powerful, had exhibited a spasmodic effort of proselytism under Dzu Nowâs; but as an active and vivifying principle, it, too, was now dead. In fine, the surface of the Peninsula was here and there gently rippled by the feeble influences of Christianity; occasionally, the effects of sterner Judaism would be visible in a deeper and more troubled current: but the flood of idolatry and of Ishmaelite superstition, setting with the surge of an unbroken and unebbing tide towards the Kaaba, gave ample evidence that *they* held in undisputed thraldom the mind of Arabia.

* The connexions of the Arabs with Abyssinia were chiefly mercantile. Tabari says of it:—"Now there was there a just king, called *Al Najashy* (Negus;) and it was a land with which the Coreish used to do merchandise. They were wont to go thither for commerce, and to find therein plenty of food and protection, and good traffick" (*p.* 127.)

† Dr. Sprenger goes even farther than this, and supposes that Mahomet was *preceded* by many of his followers in the discovery and choice of Islam: see references in the notes at pp. 52 and 53 of Article I. in No. XXXVII. of this *Review*, on the sources for the Biography of Mahomet.

‡ The Bani Taghlib, and Ghassân, and the Christian tribes near Hîra, were removed from direct influence on Central Arabia, and are not therefore here taken into account.

Still, even in this posture of affairs, there existed the elements with which a master mind might work those marvellous changes, which his wizard wand, alone of all human agencies, can produce. Christianity was known; there were living examples of it in domesticated tribes; its books and many of its doctrines were patent, or at least accessible, to all. The tenets of Judaism were even more notorious, and its legends, if not its sacred writings, were familiar throughout the Peninsula. The worship of Mecca was founded upon assumptions believed to be common both to Christianity and Judaism. Here then was ground of truth ready to the enquirer's hand, and inviting scrutiny and cultivation. And no doubt, many an Arab heart, before Mahomet, responded to the casually received truths of Christianity and Judaism:—many an honest Bedouin spirit confessed of the law that it was just and good: many an aspiring intellect, as the eye travelled over the bespangled expanse of the heavens, concluded that the Universe was supported by ONE great being; and in the time of need, many an earnest soul felt the suitability of the Christian sacrifice. Coss, the Bishop of Najrân, was not the first, nor perhaps, the most eloquent and earnest, of Arab preachers, who sought to turn his fellows from the error of their ways, and reasoned with them of righteousness, truth, and the judgment to come.

The MATERIAL for a great change was here; but it required to be wrought: and Mahomet was the WORKMAN. The fabric of Islam no more necessarily resulted from the state of Arabia, than a gorgeous texture necessarily results from the mesh of tiny silken thread; nor the stately ship from the unhewn timber of the forest: nor the splendid palace from unshapen masses of quarried rock. Had Mahomet, stern to his first convictions, followed out the Jewish and Christian systems, and inculcated upon his fellows their simple truths, we should have had a "SAINT MAHOMET,"—perhaps a "MAHOMET THE MARTYR,"—laying the foundation stone of the Arabian Church: but we should not certainly, in his day, have seen Arabia convulsed to its centre, or even any considerable portion of it Christianized. He abandoned his early convictions; for the uncompromising severity of inflexible principle he substituted the golden prospects of expediency and compromise; and then with consummate skill, he devised a machinery, by the plastic power of which, he gradually shaped his material into an harmonious and perfect form. To the Christian, he was as a Christian;—to the Jew he became as a Jew:—to the

Meccan idolator, as a reformed worshipper of the Kaaba. And thus, by unparalleled art, and a rare supremacy of mind, he persuaded the whole of Arabia, idolator, Jew, and Christian, to follow his steps with docile submission.*

Such a process we style that of *the workman shaping his material.* It was not that of the material shaping its own form, much less moulding the workman himself. It was Mahomet that formed Islam: it was not Islam, or any pre-existing Moslem spirit, that moulded Mahomet.

* But this effect was not attained until both spiritual and temporal powers had been brought into play against a ceaseless opposition of twenty years; and no sooner had the personal influence of the Prophet been removed by death, than almost the whole of Arabia rose up in rebellion against Islam. The remark is anticipatory, but should not be lost sight of in our estimate of Ante-Mahometan Arabia.

ART. II.—1. *Scenes de Voyage dans l'Inde. Par Th. Pavie. (Revue de deux Mondes.* 1 *Avril,* 1853.)

2. *L'Inde sous la domination Anglaise. Par le Baron Barchou de Penhoën, auteur de l'histoire de la conquete de l'Inde par l'Angleterre.* 2 *Tom. Paris,* 1844.

INDIA was discovered by M. Victor Jacquemont, about the thirtieth year of the present century. It was inhabited by two distinct classes of people, different in many respects from each other, but neither of them far removed from a state of barbarism. The one class wore no clothes worth mentioning, and the other class wore such as cannot be mentioned without a sigh of compassion for their unfortunate wearers, inasmuch as their *cut* had been handed down, unimproved, from a remote antiquity, indicating that the latest communication with the civilized world, that is Paris—(and that communication must have been indirect and circuitous)—had not taken place within two years of M. V. Jacquemont's visit. The country was ruled over by a queen called *Lady William,* who was accustomed to travel in a "Tom Jones,"* and who gave evidence how well she deserved the throne, by the nearer approximation that she made than any of her subjects of either race, to a truthfully high estimate of the merits of M. V. Jacquemont.

After the publication of M. V. Jacquemont's discovery, indeed, some resurrectionist of deceased volumes found out that the country had been visited at an earlier period, by one M. Bernier, who found one Aurungzebe occupying the throne that his successor found occupied by Lady William. There was also a legend that a M. Thevenot and a M. Tavernier had been in India, but these legends were, probably, mythical. It was also said, that a M. Dupleix had once ruled over India, otherwise called Pont de Cherri; but as the histories of his reign contained accounts, evidently fabulous, of his being defeated by the British, the whole of his history was probably apocryphal; having perhaps been composed by the British, in order that they might set the glory that they profess to have gained by his defeat, against the disgrace of their own defeat at Trafalgar and Waterloo. But this impertinent discovery was not allowed to detract anything from the merits of M. V. Jacquemont;

* Much has been written on the subject of Romanizing, and we once had an article on the Hellenizing, of Oriental words. The Gallicizing of them is quite as worthy of being treated. The example in the text is amusing, from the coincidence of the name given to her ladyship's conveyance, with that of the hero of a celebrated work. But the words, pronounced after the French fashion, come very near to the name *tonjon.*

and he retains, and ever will retain, the credit of having been the first to make his countrymen acquainted with the fact of the existence of India.

It is altogether astonishing to what an extent the descriptions of this amiably vain traveller (vanity excites pity, and "pity melts the soul to love") have given a bias to the judgments of the French, in all matters relating to India. They see it with his eyes; they describe it in his style. Those of them, who have never visited India, take up his descriptions without question, and the few who do venture to pay a visit to the *Britannos hospitibus feros*, in this land of their exile, come amongst us with his impressions established as the ideal standard of their own, and with the conclusion formed, that the more nearly they can approach his sentiments and his modes of expressing them, the greater will be the merit of their books.

It may seem unfair to make these remarks *apropos* merely to an article in a magazine; but in point of fact, we state the impression made upon us by a tolerably extensive course of reading. And were it not so, the *Revue de deux Mondes* has so high a name in the world of periodical literature, and has so evidently the best writers in France at its command, that we are rather in danger of doing injustice to it than to the general body of French writers, by regarding its articles as fair specimens, in matter and manner, of the literature of France at the present day.

Who M. Pavie is we do not know, nor do we at this moment recollect whether we have met with his name before; but the admission of his article into the *Revue* is a certificate of respectability. He, doubtless, knows as much respecting India as respectable literary men in France generally know respecting it. His opinions are, probably, those of a considerable body of men of the same class—for when personal or party-interests are not at stake, men of the same class do not generally differ widely in opinion—and they will be read without question by many thousands of readers, and insensibly incorporated into the *credenda* of the French people.

It may be worth while then to examine this article of M. Pavie, and "see ourselves as others see us." The article is nominally a review of a German work, entitled *Patma Khanda—Leben und Charakterbilder aus Indien und Persien, von Erich von Schönbery, 2 vol. Leipzig*, 1852; but except telling us that *Patma Khanda* means a *place where the lotus abounds*, and quoting a story about Runjit Singh, the reviewer makes no reference to the work under review. It is not for us to con-

demn his conduct in this respect, as there are some panes of glass in our own roof which might haply suffer from the recoil of any missiles that we might throw. The fact is, that our fraternity do some dishonor to their vocation, by adhering to the practice of invariably attaching the titles of one or more books to their articles. *Reviews* were originally intended merely to give an account of *books*; but now their sphere is greatly enlarged, and it is expected of them that they should review not only books, but events and men. Formerly the reviewer had only the literary world employed in providing subjects for the exercise of his functions, but now he has the whole world employed in nothing else than furnishing matter for his articles. The practice, however, has been retained, of prefixing the titles of books to *Review* articles, and as it is quite harmless, and as it has been handed down as an heir-loom from the days of the patriarchs of our race, we confess that we have no desire to see it relinquished, and a mere *running title* placed at the head of an article, instead of the title of a book. But we have a long road to travel, and must not indulge our propensity to digress.

After stating, in very general terms, the design and method of the *Patma Khanda*, the reviewer proceeds to treat of various subjects "in the miscellaneous order (le pêle-mêle) in which they ordinarily present themselves to the European traveller." According to this order, of course the first subject is the landing. This event may be viewed in various aspects. Some may delight in contemplating the unmodified and unmitigated "griffinism" of the new-comer; but we confess we never could apprehend aught like the full intensity of the fun that most old Indians seem to perceive in the fact that a man should be unable to speak a language that he has never learned, and that he had never before seen animals and plants which are peculiar to the country that he is now visiting for the first time, and that he should not be perfectly conversant with customs which have been originated in a state of society of which he has hitherto had no experience. Yet this is all that goes to make up griffinism, that most ridiculous of all things to an old Indian. If indeed a young man affects to know what he does not know, or condemns customs of which he knows neither the origin nor the use, he is a fair subject for ridicule; but simple griffinism—griffinism without dogmatism—has never, so far as we recollect, been to us a subject of intense merriment. We do not laugh at a new-born child, because he cannot make chairs, or dance quadrilles, or post ledgers, or write articles; rather do we smile upon him with tender affection, remembering that we were once such as he is now, and reflecting that he will be as we

now are, when we shall have passed away from the social circle, and the world of business, and the republic of letters. And, haply, we breathe for him a silent or uttered prayer, that the career on which he is just entering may be a career of uprightness and honor, or address him in our heart with a sentiment like that of the Eastern poet—

> On parents' knees, a naked, new-born child,
> Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smil'd;
> So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
> Thou mayest smile, while all around thee weep.

And with similar feelings are we disposed to regard the newcomer to India—the griffin if you will. Entering upon a new career, amongst strangers—removed, for the first time probably, beyond the reach of paternal counsel, and maternal care, and fraternal sympathy, and—most valuable of all, in some respects, as regards its influence on the formation of a young man's character—of sisterly kindness and confidence—with many hopes and expectations within him, that are destined never to be realized, and with many temptations around him which he has never learned how to resist—our feelings are apt to clothe themselves in the words of another Eastern poet, not less beautiful, and more masculine than those we just now quoted—

> The God before whom my fathers did walk,
> The God which led me all my life-long unto this day,
> The angel which redeemed me from all evil,
> Bless the lad!

Now, at last, for M. Pavie's description of the landing. We shall probably consult the wishes of a considerable proportion of our readers, by presenting this, and such other extracts as we may have to make, in an English form, although we are quite aware that we cannot preserve the full richness of flavour that belongs to some of them in the original:—

"You touch the shore; a palanquin awaits you, and an officious interpreter invites you to get into it. Behold modern India, such as English occupation and the great *steamers* which are perpetually ploughing the seas, have made it. In this land, where every thing surprises you, no one is surprised at you. As soon as you are cradled in this litter, like a patrician of ancient Rome, a beggar, who deafens you with his lamentations, seeks alms in the name of Allah! You have a view of the India of the middle age, the India of the Moguls, which Islamism has covered like an immense and fearful wave. The bearers of the palanquin spring alertly on one side. They are making room for a bull with gilt horns, to

'which old Brahmans are presenting fresh grass, and whose 'humped back young girls are caressing. This bull is the 'emblem of Sivaism. You have found the India of antiquity, 'whose language and whose myths are lost in the night of 'time. Three epochs, three civilizations, three faiths encoun-'ter each other on this mysterious ground. Above that 'motley crowd, agitated by so many different thoughts, rise 'the belfries, the minarets, and the pagodas. The spire of the 'Christian temple points right upwards (au milieu des airs), and 'goes straight to heaven: at the sound of the bell which rings 'sweet and sharp, you think with emotion on the perpetual 'youth of Christianity, which is every day extending its 'peaceful conquests. From the height of the balconies hung 'around the minarets, the blind Muezzin invites the Mussul-man fatalists to prayer—a distant and enfeebled echo of the Prophet's summons to the tribes of Arabia. Under the por-'ticoes of the pagodas, around the sacred tanks, sport and 'run privileged animals, birds and quadrupeds, which the 'Hindus reverence as images of their gods; and upon the 'threshold of these temples, devoted to idolatry, the conch in 'which the Brahman blows, inflating his cheeks like a Triton, 'makes you dream of ancient Pagan Greece."

This is purely and thoroughly French. Our author does not tell us where it is that "we touch the shore," but it is probably either at Madras or Calcutta, the word which we have rendered *shore* being equally applicable to the bank of a river as to the shore of the sea. But it is not of much moment. All have, of course, read of the great metaphysician who had cultivated the power of abstraction so assiduously and so successfully, that he was quite able to conceive of a Lord Mayor apart from his sword, and his chain and his horse, yea, apart from his arms and legs and paunch, and body and soul and existence—the mere abstraction of a Lord Mayor, possessing all the qualities common to all existing and all possible Lord Mayors, and no quality peculiar to any individual Lord Mayor, or by which one Lord Mayor is distinguished from all the rest. It is probably much so with M. Pavie. His conceptions of an Indian city are of the most abstract kind, and will fit any one of the existing concretes—as well as any other. The churches, the mosques, and the Hindu temples may, very naturally, be regarded as significant symbols of the three great periods into which the history of India divides itself; but our imagination lags a long way behind M. Pavie, when he selects a palki, a fakir, and a brahmani bull as representations of the same periods. Perhaps he means only that there is

present a member of each of the three races who have successively held sway in India, the Hindu, the Mussulman, and the European. But why a Frenchman in a palki should be regarded as very appropriately symbolical of the English rule in India, or a Mussulman beggar should be the chosen figure of Mohammedan conquest and dominion, does, we confess it, puzzle us considerably. The brahmani bull is all very well; though we suspect that the gilding of his horns is the Frenchman's work; and it never happened to us to see the Hindu young ladies caressing the humped back (le dos bossu) of one of these animals. Indeed, we think it would be a feat somewhat difficult of accomplishment, and requiring a somewhat abnormal development of the brachial organs. We are not aware that in India blindness is deemed an indispensable qualification for an aspirant to the office of Muezzin, though we have read that it is in some other countries, and it has never been our luck to see a pagoda with a portico.

Our author next treats us to a dissertation on the costumes, and especially the turbans, which distinguish the different Indian races, which he closes thus:—

"Another mark will indicate to you, whether the Hindu* 'who passes by you is a Mohammedan or an idolator. The 'latter crosses his tunic on the right side, in order to allow 'the sacramental cord, suspended over his left shoulder, to 'float freely: the former hooks his tunic on the side 'of the heart. But were he naked, the Pagan Hindu will be 'betrayed by some symbolical mark painted on his forehead, 'his breast, or his arms. It is also his custom to unfasten and 'shake out to the open air, even under the burning sun, his long 'hair greased with cocoa-nut oil; the Mussulman, on the other 'hand, always conceals his shaven head under the folds of the 'turban, or the skull-cap of white cotton."

That Hindus, when they do wear tunics, button them on the right side, and Mussulmans on the left, is quite true; but as to the reason here assigned for the practice of the former, it does not seem to us to be valid. At most, it could apply only to the Brahmans, who alone ordinarily wear the paita. Moreover, we should think that this paita, passing over the left shoulder and under the right arm, would be more likely to "float freely," were the buttons removed to the left side. The fact seems to be, that the Hindus borrowed the tunic from the Mohammedans, and altered the form of it merely to distinguish

* M. Pavie uses the term Hindu as a national epithet, including both Pagans and Mohammedans. It is more usual to use it as a religious designation, implying all those who profess the Hindu religion.

them from those of the other creed. It will be new to most of our Indian readers to be told that Hindus always wear long hair, and that Mussulmans always have their heads shaved. Few people are long in India without seeing the dandified khidmutgars of European houses, with their hair hanging in long ringlets over their shoulders; and it is not generally very long ere they come into contact with a pandit, with the bright effulgence of his scalp relieved only by the tuft of hair on the crown, resembling precisely the scalping tuft of the American Indians, but they would be considerably in error if they concluded that the former was a Hindu and the latter a Mussulman.

The next subject on which our author touches, is that of the professions of the people of India. He tells us that all the professions of advanced civilization are represented in India, and that caste renders these hereditary. "Yet" (says he) "the 'unclassed individuals (les individus declassés), who are neither 'land-holders, nor merchants, nor artizans, nor cultivators, nor 'kings, nor porters, form two great divisions (deux grand caté-'gories), the sepoys and the munshis, or as they may be called '(comme qui dirait) the men of the sword, and the men of the 'pen." We had always, in our ignorance, imagined that there *was* a hereditary caste of warriors, and another of writers; but we must hasten to blot out the terms *kshetrya* and *kayastha* from our vocabulary. To us, deeply pondering on this pregnant sentence, there occurred a thought which we humbly presume the world "will not willingly let die." It seems that the two professions of civilization that this country wants, are men of the pen and men of the sword; and hence, according to the principle of compensation, the East India Company have been led to send out men to supply the deficiency, civilians and soldiers, *comme qui dirait*, writers and cadets. But if we might venture to correct so accurate a writer, we would suggest that the list he gives of the classes that exist, indicates a still wider blank. One of the professions of an advanced civilization is that of the physician; but physicians are neither land-holders, nor merchants, nor citizens, nor cultivators, nor kings nor porters; and hence the necessity for the Honorable East India Company's Medical Department. In most civilized communities there is a class of men set apart for the teaching of religion; but these are not comprehended in the classes enumerated by M. Pavie, hence the origin of the Ecclesiastical Establishment. There are no sailors, and hence the Indian Navy has been called into being. We hope M. Pavie will receive the suggestion of an addition to "the crying wants

of India," as it was previously to the commencenent of our rule, with all the attention that, we feel assured, it richly merits.

But we must follow our author in his description of the second of his unclassed classes. It is somewhat long, but we do not think our readers will regard it as tedious:—

"The second (the munshis) have for their characteristic 'the peaceful pen-case, similar to the ink-stand, which the 'Copts of Egypt push into the folds of their girdle. The 'munshi is a valuable man. Have you a letter to write in 'beautiful Persian character,—a letter with very little matter 'in it, as is customary in the East, but which must abound in 'flattering metaphors and anxious wishes? The fine reed-'pen, which moves under the nimble fingers of the native, will 'trace the characters as by magic. Do you wish to learn 'the language of the country? The countenance of the 'munshi is lighted up with joy. With spectacles on nose, and 'a roll of paper under his arm, he approaches you with the 'mild and polished air of a needy *savant*. His feet bare—'he has left his slippers at the door—the turban over his eyes—'he sits upon a chair with the embarrassment of a man accus-'tomed to fold his legs under him, and the lesson begins. The 'munshi is not deficient in knowledge; he speaks and writes, 'indifferently well, three or four languages; but as he has 'learned them all, his own included, by rote, it is exceeding-'ly difficult for him to teach them with any method. Fortu-'nately, the lesson degenerates into conversation; the munshi, 'changing places with his pupil, graciously allows himself to 'be questioned; and, provided the interviews are continued 'for some months, one knows enough to make himself under-'stood by the servants—who speak English. In short, the munshi will teach you many things which are not in the books. For example, he will tell you that the Government of the Honorable Company is very much liked by the *natives*, except in four particulars:—stamped paper—the interference of the state with that part of the code which respects women—the tax which is imposed on all lands and tenements—and the employment of the Persian language in all the courts of justice. The Hindu, who is fond of money, is well aware that the result of a law-suit is always doubtful, and he scruples to incur the expense of a sheet of stamped paper of the enormous price of one franc, sixty cents. Was justice less costly under the nawabs? Then again is it an evil that the English law prevents a Hindu husband from retaining by force the wife that demands to be

'separated from him? The question of taxes is one that 'is not easily judged of in any country;—and as to the em- 'ployment of a uniform language in the courts of justice— 'be it Persian or Hindustani—it is a measure whose object 'is to give more unity to this vast country, composed of so 'different elements. On taking the place of the Great Mogul, 'the Company has undertaken to rule as he did—and more 'than he did—over all India; and as Islamism had penetrated 'everywhere, and as Persian was the language of the nawabs, 'it became natural that the new Government should adopt this 'prevalent idiom. These are questions of detail; yet it is easy 'to see that they touch the natives in their prejudices and inter- 'ests. It matters little to the Hindu what master governs him, '*clitellas dum portem meas;* but he shrinks from the taxation 'which lays hold upon a share of the gains of his toilsome 'occupation. He is attached to the dialect of his district; 'and he dislikes laws which restrict the omnipotence of the 'master of the house, the *pater familias* of Indian society."

This is a long extract; but we do not think that our readers would have wished us to break off a single sentence short of the end. Indeed, we wish that we could fill our tri-mensial two hundred and fifty pages with matter that is so sure to amuse and instruct them. This is altogether a masterly and life-like sketch. To make it complete, we should mention that we learn from the sentence following our extract, that the original is a Mussulman, and that he is employed as a school-master, and a public writer, and as a secretary to the Mussulman princes. No wonder, though the conversation of so important a personage should be a rich treat; and such it assuredly is. In these days, when the Charter discussions are going on, and while it may still not be too late to make grievances known in the proper quarter, we cannot but wish that our author had been a little more explicit in stating the four grounds of offence of our honorable masters. As to the stamped paper, it is clear enough. Litigation is to the Hindu the staff of life, and a tax upon it is to him a tax upon daily bread; but what the munshi refers to when he speaks of "the interference of the state with that part of the code which relates to women," as explained by our author's commentary, that "the 'English law prevents a Hindu husband from retaining, by force, 'a wife that demands to be separated from him," and, again, that the laws "restrict the omnipotence of the *pater-familias*"—we cannot for the life of us make out. If he had said just the opposite, and had told us that the law prevents the co-religionist of the munshi from abandoning the wife whom he

wishes to discard, and obliges him to maintain her, then we could have made something of it; but as it stands, it baffles us altogether. As to the third ground of complaint, we are made painfully to feel the pitiableness of our exile in this remote land, cut off from all sources of recent intelligence. We have heard that a worthy clergyman in St. Kilda, though a staunch Protestant, was found praying most devoutly for His most gracious Majesty, William the Fourth, after his august niece had been a full year and day on the throne; but that was nothing in comparison with our ignorance of the state of matters. The very ink in our pen blushes to record the confession, that for the last fourteen years we have been under the impression that the Persian had been superseded by the Vernacular dialects of the several provinces, in the proceedings of the Courts. But of course they know better in Paris. How touching, too, is the candour of our munshi, who, as a scholar and a Persian writer, must have an interest in the continuance of the Persian system, yet who is quite eager to make it known that it is universally unpopular. Ah! if the world were peopled with such men, we should have eldest sons pleading for the abolition of the privileges of primogeniture, and bishops lending the influence of their lawn to a measure for the equalization of livings, and lawyers of all grades combining to excogitate a plan for simplifying and expediting the administration of justice, and agriculturists eloquent for the abolition of protection, and Irishmen entreating to be allowed to pay the income tax. Seriously, however, we should not pass over the good feeling that M. Pavie displays in vindicating the English Government from the imaginary charges preferred against it by his imaginary munshi. It is in pleasing and creditable contrast with the feeling displayed by some of his countrymen towards that Government, and toward all that is English; and we thank him for it.

As a companion to the sketch of the munshi, our author next presents us with a portrait of the pandit. It is painted in a much tamer style than the preceding. Indeed, it is not very different from what an artist *who had been in India* might have painted. But still, that our readers may be in possession of the *pair*, we shall present them with it also:—

"The pandit is a Brahman: he has studied the sacred books, 'the religious legends, the philosophical treatises. In the 'service of the rajas he fills the office of spiritual director, 'leaving to the *purohit* (the family priest) that of sacrificer 'and officiating priest. In the large towns he devotes himself 'to teaching; it is he who transmits from generation to genera-

'tion the knowledge of the Vedic doctrines; he it is who has 'transcribed, with a reed-pen, so many valuable manuscripts 'on palm leaves, and has thus preserved to our day the monu- 'ments of a literature more ancient than that of Greece. The 'pandit is, in truth, a man of letters. In the libraries founded 'at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, by the Asiatic Societies, 'he is employed in revising the texts and arranging them. 'When the printing of a Sanskrit work is in hand, the editors 'find in him a conscientious and competent corrector. Devoted 'to study by condition and duty, the pandit is content with 'a moderate salary. Though very proud of his knowledge, 'he scarcely seeks to be appreciated, and finds in the work 'which he accomplishes the greatest reward of his labor. His 'conceit is flattered by the anxiety which Europeans display 'to study the languages of his country, and the systems of belief 'of which he is himself the representative. For the strangers 'who make use of his services, he has neither hatred nor affec- 'tion, but contempt, which he knows how to dissemble to 'suit his own purposes. The pandit is, above all, a Brahman 'who holds by the privileges of his order. Provided he can exert 'his influence over the minds of men, provided that in his 'person honor be done to the man of letters and the theologian, 'he submits to the foreign occupation without a murmur."

This, as we have said, is but a tame sketch in comparison with the other, and seems to have been abstracted from the portfolio of some *Indian* artist. Certainly, it exhibits little of M. Pavie's usual brilliancy of coloring.

The next subject that attracts our attention is the description of the pilgrimages of the natives of India to certain places of sanctity. There is nothing in Chaucer to be compared with the following:—

"In this immense extent of country—" extending from Ceylon to the peaks of the Himalaya—"how many places there 'are, which are celebrated by the poets, towards which a crowd 'wends its way in pilgrimage! These families, which travel 'slowly in small chariots drawn by bullocks—these old Brah- 'mans with white beards, who march in the dust—each with 'an antelope skin upon his back—these horsemen, with fine 'moustaches, who trot along on their pretty little horses, the 'buckler dangling from their shoulder, the sabre from their 'girdle—these bands of poor people, singing and crying at 'the pitch of their voices, who drag themselves along from 'village to village, with no baggage but a cocoa-nut, in which 'they collect the rice that they beg from door to door—these 'troops of laborers and petty merchants, who lead weary

'children by the hand, or carry them astride on their necks— 'all this crowd proceeds to plunge with enthusiasm into the 'waters of the Jumna or the Ganges."

Brahmans with white beards! Brahmans clothed in skin! These are new ideas to us.* So is also that of a Hindu, or indeed any Asiatic, *trotting*. How we wish that M. Pavie had recorded the conversation of some of his groups! If he had done them but half the justice that he does to that of the munshi, he would have thrown Chaucer into the shade entirely.

After a detailed description of the fair or méla at Hardwar, which occurs, so he tells us—at the vernal equinox once in twelve years!—by an easy transition, our author passes on to enquire into the condition of the natural rulers of the people. "They live," (says he, truly and well,) "even they, as their fa-'thers lived, and yet, to say the truth, they exist not. I know no 'spectacle more sad than these rajas, these nabobs, whose arms 'are bound, and before whom men bow down, saying, *Hail, O king.*" A sad spectacle truly, and one which it were scarcely right to introduce into an article written in the vein of the present. Before leaving the subject altogether, we may just mention, that the only two of these "puppet-kings" whom our author specifies, are the Emperor of Delhi, and *Runjit Singh!*

The mention of these "monarchs without authority," (amongst whom, as we have just stated, he includes Runjit Sing,) with their state and display, leads our author to a dissertation on the elephant, the camel and the horse, in which he shows a good deal of ingenuity; and then he gives a description of cheeta-hunting; and then he passes on to an account of the musk-doe and the black bear of Kashmir; and so he passes out of India; and on the confines we take our leave of M. Pavie, from whose article we have really derived much amusement and some instruction. Of the amusement we have endeavoured to make our readers partakers, of the instruction the sum amounts, as nearly as we can estimate it, to this, that if a man wishes to write well upon a subject, his chances of succeeding will be none the less, if the subject be one about which he knows a little.

And now we must pass "from lively to severe," from the Magazine article, to the two-volume work, from M. Pavie to

* It is quite true that amongst the Sanyassis, whom M. Pavie is here attempting to describe, there are some Brahmans, or, to state the matter more correctly, men who have been Brahmans. These men allow their beards to grow, and wear the antelope's or leopard's skin. But this, not in their Brahmanical capacity. In fact, the life of a Sanyassi is incompatible with the duties of a Brahman, and the Brahman who becomes a Sanyassi, *ipso facto* relinquishes all the privileges of his caste.

the Baron B. de Penhoën, and from the style of good-natured banter to that of earnest examination as to the truth or falsehood of charges advanced against one of the most important institutions in the world. First of all we would enter our protest against a practice that cannot be too strongly reprobated, of which the work before us affords an instance. On the outer cover, the author is styled *Representant du peuple*, and the date of the publication is given as 1850; but in the proper title-page there is no such "handle" to the author's name, and the date of publication is 1844. This is not difficult to account for. The book was published in 1844, but the copies remained unsold. In 1850 the agitation about the renewal of the Company's Charter began in England, and the interest taken in Indian affairs by the people of England, and communicated in some degree to intelligent men on the continent of Europe, was greatly encreased. Advantage was taken of this enhanced interest, in order to dispose of a few copies of the Baron's still-born work; a new cover was printed, and the book was re-issued as a fresh publication. It may be said that there is no great harm in this; that a book written in 1844 might be just as good as one written in 1850. But to this we reply that, at all events, the thing is *a lie*, a false pretence to induce people to buy what they would not otherwise have bought. But, besides this, we maintain that while a book written in 1850 might have been quite as good as any written in 1844—no one written in 1844 could, by possibility, be *so good*, for the purpose of giving its readers a correct view of the present state of India, as one that *might have* been written in 1850. Independently of the actual changes that took place in the interval, it is no small matter that a great deal of information was accessible at the later date, which was not at the former. Were there nothing else—we say it, not by way of boasting, but as a simple fact, directly bearing on the point in hand—it was something, that between the beginning of 1844 and the end of 1850, there were issued no fewer than fourteen volumes of the *Calcutta Review*, containing, we must be allowed to say, a larger amount of correct information respecting the peculiarities of the Indian Government, and the condition of the people under the British rule, than the Baron B. de Penhoën, in 1844, had collected from all sources put together. We hope the fraud is entirely the work of the publishers, and that the Baron was not cognizant of its perpetration.

From the Preface we learn that the work now before us is a sequel to a previous work by the same author, a history of the conquest of India by England; and this work seems to

have been in six octavo volumes. The present work is a natural and necessary supplement to the former.

To give our readers a general idea, at the outset, of the spirit in which the work before us is composed, we shall present them with a short extract from the preface:—

"The English, on landing in India, were concerned with 'one sole interest, that of commerce; they proposed to themselves but one end to their policy, that of peace. But wars 'speedily give birth to wars, conquests are continually added 'to conquests. Scarcely have they ceased to find themselves 'under the protection of their cannons around Madras and 'Calcutta, when their chief care is not to extend their dominion, but rather to contract it; and yet an irresistible force 'impels them, drags them, bears them on, in some sort, 'beyond the limit which they designed to maintain. It is 'because the English genius had found there a field so favorable to its development, that nothing could arrest, or even 'retard it. The West and the East once brought face to 'face under the power of certain conditions, it was impossible 'that the former should not triumph over the latter. The 'one could not but absorb the other by the mere force of attraction. The princes of the East, with their want of foresight and their childishness, could not come into contact with 'the British constancy and tenacity, without being broken to 'pieces— glass against the brass.

"In all that relates to the consolidation of their rule, the 'English see their efforts equally frustrated, but in the 'opposite direction. The best, or rather the only possible 'foundation for this rule, would be the happiness of the people 'who are subject to it; what it has hitherto effected is their 'misery, their ruin, their desolation. England is wrong in all 'her calculations, she is disappointed in all her expectations, she 'cannot wish any thing without immediately realizing the 'opposite thing. She proposes, for example, the reform of a 'judiciary organization which is repugnant to her European 'ideas, and the result is the destruction, the annulment, of all 'justice, and the consignment of millions of men to despotism, 'violence and oppression. She proposes a corresponding re'form in the financial administration, and she takes from a 'people, already miserable beyond all expression, their last 'morsel of bread, their last grain of rice. She has a fancy to 'create off-hand, for Bengal, a territorial aristocracy, and she 'destroys utterly an aristocracy already existing, which she 'throws, poor and plundered, into the bosom of the multitude, 'with which its remains must be mingled. She tries at Madras to

'introduce a proprietary democracy, and the result is a violent, 'oppressive, brutal aristocracy. She wishes to introduce into 'the Indo-British army the same discipline which has been to 'her worth so many victories—she destroys the *warrior-spirit*, '(l' esprit guerrier) that formerly characterized it, without sub-'stituting for it the *soldier-spirit*, (l' esprit soldatesque.) The 'affection of the soldiers for their chiefs had been hitherto the 'spirit, the soul, the bond of that army; she seems to take plea-'sure in wounding, in crushing this sentiment. She makes 'for herself secret but ardent enemies of those Indian warriors, 'who, during a century, have poured out their blood for her on 'numberless battle-fields. The distinctive qualities of the 'English genius are all turned in opposition to the work of 'England. The perseverance, the constancy which drives 'the Englishman onward till he reaches the end of the path 'on which he has entered, here become mournful. The na-'tional ignorance and prejudices have placed him in a position 'where he cannot fail to perfect the ruin of the conquered 'population."

This is the enunciation of the general proposition, which it is the grand design of the Baron B. de Penhoën, throughout his two volumes, to establish; and the establishment of the proposition he effects, to his own satisfaction, by the usual process of collecting together all the faults that have ever been found with the details of the Company's administration, and most determinedly ignoring all that has ever been said in its vindication or commendation. This is unfair in every way, in itself, and doubly so, in as much as he culls his charges from books of old date, and represents all the evils charged, as if they actually applied to either the real or the fictitious date of his book, whereas many of the evils had been remedied before 1844, and many more before 1850.

As to the omissions, we may notice that there is not a single word said about the public works constructed under the auspices of the Company; not a single allusion is made to the existence of the educational department; no reference is made to the fact, which we hold to be incontrovertible, of the gradual change of the sentiments of the people generally respecting the character of the English and their rule. All these are matters of very considerable moment, and the omission of all reference to them, whether proceeding from intention or ignorance, must vitiate any conclusion derived from other facts as to the character of the British rule, and its bearing upon the interests of the people subject to it.

It is customary for writers like-minded with the Baron B. de Penhoën, to contrast the niggardly expenditure of the British Government for objects of general utility, with the munificent outlay of some of the Mohammedan sovereigns. But in these comparisons it is always forgotten that the works of the Mohammedan emperors, although they might eventually prove public benefits, were invariably undertaken for private and purely selfish ends. A hundred miles of road were made, and planted on either side with trees, and the ultimate result was that the people might travel on the road and be shaded by the trees; but the sole object of the making of the one, and the planting of the other, was the comfort of the emperor himself. A noble serai was built at an enormous cost, and it became available for the accommodation of travellers; but its original intention was simply the accommodation of the emperor; and so as to tanks, wells, and all the public works of the Mohammedan dynasty. So far as we know, it would be impossible to point to a single public work, undertaken by a Mohammedan sovereign of India, with a view to the comfort or good of the people; although we are quite willing to admit that the people have ultimately profited by the works which these sovereigns undertook for the purpose of ministering to their own luxury. It cannot be denied that the public works of the English have been constructed purely for the accommodation and comfort of the people. The Government have been benefited indirectly, as in the case of the embankments of rivers, but it has been only by a small per-centage on the benefits reaped by the people themselves.

We are at war with the Government in respect to many points connected with their educational institutions, and we have no wish to compromise the strife; but it is a simple fact, that more money is spent on these institutions, and spent more judiciously, than would be spent by any other power, European or Asiatic, under which India could possibly have been placed; and we submit that it is altogether unfair and dishonest for an author, writing in 1844, and still more for one professing to write in 1850, to pass over *sub silentio* the educational efforts of the government. If our author had shown that these efforts are too limited in extent, and to a considerable extent mis-directed, (if the object be the intellectual, moral and spiritual elevation of the people submitted to the sway of Great Britain,) he should have had us as willing, and we trust not ineffective, allies; but we must protest that the account which professes to give a fair statement of the relation which subsists between the

Government and the people, and which leaves wholly out of view the educational operations of the former, is wholly deceptive and untrue.

As to the estimation in which the English are held by the natives, we believe that there is no man who has ever been in India, that will not bear testimony, that the latter, *as a body*, entertain very exalted notions as to the intellectual and moral character of the former *as a body*. That there are individuals amongst the natives, who are in the habit of bringing sweeping charges against the Europeans, and representing them as stained with every possible or conceivable crime, is most true. But if the accusers be cross-questioned, it will be generally found that the charges resolve themselves into little more than this, that the Europeans have no objection to a well-cooked beef-steak, if the accuser be a Hindu, or that they have not, generally, any very deep-rooted abhorrence of a slice of ham and turkey, if he be a Mussulman. Then again it is equally true, and most deeply to be deplored, that there are individual Europeans against whom the natives in their neighbourhood bring charges of immorality, which are in general well founded. But there are exceptions on either side; and whoever states, as the Baron B. de Penhoën states, and repeats again, and again, and again, that the natives generally entertain a bad opinion of the Europeans generally, he states what is decidedly untrue. Why, we have ourselves known the natives of a district buy up the furniture of a Collector who was about to leave them, at enormous prices, in order that they might have some thing in their possession that had belonged to him; and although this may be an unusual case, it is nothing unusual for the people of a district to feel a firm and impregnable conviction, that the European Magistrate, or Judge, or Collector, will certainly do them justice, if their case come before him on its merits. Now this, we assert, is a new idea altogether infused into the native mind, which for many generations had never formed the conception of abstract justice, or of the mere merits of a case having any influence at all in determining the decision of its judicial arbitrator.

So much as to what our author omits altogether; let us now advert briefly to the positive charges that he brings against our Government. The first is, that they have extended their territories. This, as a mere assertion, is indisputable, and our author is sufficiently correct, in so far as merely secondary causes are concerned, in accounting for it. "It is because the English genius has found here a field so favourable to its development that nothing can arrest or even retard it." As a simple statement

of facts, this is sufficiently true; but in so far as it is intended as the foundation of a charge against our nation of an inordinate desire for territorial acquisition, it becomes virtually and practically untrue. We have never lent ourselves to the advocacy of the theory, that because the British power is paramount in India, it is entitled, by fair means or foul, to absorb all inferior powers, and swallow up their territories. Nor do we say that every "annexation" has been justified by absolute necessity at the precise time at which it has taken place; but still, call it by what name you like,—the genius of England if you look at the secondary means, or the over-ruling Providence of God if you will look at the higher cause,—an irresistible necessity has led to our successive conquests. We say not this by way of justifying the aggressive spirit. The disasters of Cabul are quite sufficient to read us a lesson that our genius has its limits, that Providence may lead us, but will not be led by us; and there is no truth that we would more constantly have impressed upon our Government than this, that the acquisition of more territory is ever to be regarded as an evil which must be bravely encountered, when the alternative comes upon us of choosing between this and a greater evil, rather than as a good, which should be sought for on its own account.

The next charge that our author brings against the English is, that in their attempts to reform a judiciary organization, repugnant to their European ideas, they have destroyed all justice, and consigned millions of men to despotism, violence and oppression. Now we are perfectly well aware that there are defects in the judiciary organization of the Company, and these defects we have no desire to disguise or to palliate. Our own opinion certainly is, that a more summary process, both in criminal prosecutions and in civil suits, would afford at least as good a prospect of substantial justice being done, and certainly at less cost, to plaintiffs, defendants, witnesses, and all parties concerned. But to say that the substitution of the Company's Courts for the old native courts has had the effect that our author attributes to it, is simply to say what is not true. But how does the Baron B. de Penhoën contrive to make out this heinous charge? By as singular a concatenation of mis-statements, we venture to assert, as were ever collected in an equal amount of space. Let us just give a specimen or two. In describing the Judges' Courts, our author informs us, that "formerly the pleadings were in 'Persian or Hindostani, at the option of the parties; but of 'late *English has superseded these two languages!* The wit-

'nesses are interrogated, examined *vivâ voce* in public. Their 'answers, formerly in the two languages just mentioned, but 'now in English, are immediately reduced to writing." Why, M. Pavie's munshi was nothing at all to this! As to the proceedings of the Sudder Adawlut Nizamut, we are informed that they are similar in all points to those followed in the Criminal Courts in England! We sometimes see in the Calcutta auction catalogues, an entry of this kind: No. 1547, "A Plated Candlestick;" No. 1548 "Ditto to match, differing." To what extent the articles in question "match," and to what extent they "differ," we do not know; but we should imagine that between the Criminal Courts of England and those of India, there is considerably more difference than resemblance. Our readers will scarcely believe, and yet we assure them that it is simply true, that our author evidently believes that the Governor-General and his Council are still the Judges of the Sudder Court!

But the ground on which our author mainly rests the charge under consideration, is the exorbitant claims of the Supreme Court. He gives in detail the whole of the "tame elephant" controversy; and quotes at great length from Mr. Shore, (whom, by the way, he imagines to be Sir John Shore) regarding the mode in which the Supreme Courts of the several Presidencies sought to annihilate the jurisdiction of the Company's Courts altogether; and *this* is the "despotism, violence, and oppression," to which he declares that the millions of the people of this country are consigned. We have no reason to suppose that he is not quite honest in believing that this state of things continues still; but there is a degree of ignorance which, in a historian or a political writer, is not less culpable than dishonesty itself, and we do think that our author has reached that limit.

As to the settlement of the land revenue, which our author asserts to have produced such disastrous consequences, we are forced to admit, what has been again and again asserted in our pages, that in many respects it is far from being satisfactory. But that the exorbitance of the tax has been the means of ruining the body of native gentry, we most distinctly and emphatically deny. That there have been large numbers of sales of zemindaries for default of payment of revenue, is quite true; and it is to be supposed that no zemindar would permit his property to be brought to the hammer, if he had the means of satisfying the claims of the Collector. But we venture to assert, that, in ninety-nine cases out of every hundred, this inability arises, not from the excessiveness of the

land tax, but from the foolish extravagance of the zemindars. We know that it is not unusual for a family, who are deeply in debt to Government, and perfectly aware that the sale of their estates will be the result unless the debt be discharged, to expend a sum upon the debaucheries of the *durgá pujá*, which, if paid into the hands of the Collector, would have extricated them from all their difficulties. The credit of the family for liberality was at stake on the one hand, the existence of the family was at stake on the other; and if they have deliberately chosen to incur real annihilation, rather than undergo imaginary disgrace, who shall blame the Government that, in such cases, enforces its claims? We feel a real sympathy for the ancient aristocracy of a country rushing on to ruin; but it is a law enacted by a power infinitely higher than that of the East India Company, that the profligate aristocracy that will not be reformed, must perish. This law is in operation in poor Ireland, and it is in operation in India; and in both countries it is not unusual to ascribe its results to other causes than the real ones. There is no zemindar who does not draw from his ryots enough to pay the Government revenue, and to maintain his own family in a station suited to his position; and if many will squander the money that ought to be applied to these purposes, the ultimate result is as certain as the fall of an unsupported stone to the ground.

It may seem superfluous to point out single instances of misrepresentation in a book where misrepresentation is the rule rather than the exception; but it may be well to give a single example, as a fair sample of the whole. The following is a literal translation of one of our author's paragraphs:—

"The prejudices of the castes, with reference to marriages, 'has occasioned the employment of another method [of realizing 'the revenue] still more powerful. The castes, as has been 'often said, are sub-divided into numerous tribes. These, 'when they are on a footing of equality, form alliances 'with each other quite naturally. At the same time marriage 'is not prohibited between tribes, provided the inequality be-'tween them be not too great. It is only necessary that the 'inequality be compensated by certain advantages on the one 'side. Thus marriages, in India as elsewhere, may give occa-'sion for all sorts of calculations of interest and selfishness. 'When the daughters of the superior tribes contract alli-'ances with the men of inferior tribes, the dowry compen-'sates for the social inferiority; but it is the dowry of primi-'tive times, that payed by the husband to the family of the 'bride, in short, the price of the wife. But the genius of

'fiscality (le genie de la fiscalité) has contrived to turn all this 'to account. A man of a high tribe is in arrears; he has, at 'the same time, a marriageable daughter. The exchequer '(le fisc) puts its hand on an individual of an inferior tribe— 'often much inferior—and proposes him, or rather imposes 'him, as a son-in-law on the defaulter, on condition always of 'his paying a considerable sum as the dowry of his wife, the 'amount being in proportion to the inferiority of his tribe. 'But as it is the exchequer, and not the father, that has, in fact, 'effected the marriage, the exchequer, like an excellent logician, 'and not the father, fingers the dowry. Moreover, if there 'remains any surplus after the arrears are paid, even that 'will not go to the profit of the father, but to that of the ex- 'chequer agent (l'agent du fisc). It is the reward of his cares 'and his negotiations."

The authority given for this statement is "*Shore, t. II., p.* 186." This reference, like most of the others, is incorrect; but we have found, after some search, the passage intended to be referred to, and discovered, as we had expected, that this practice, instead of being imputed to "the exchequer," is represented as a trick resorted to by the native tahsildars. Mr. Shore adds, indeed, that some of the Collectors were well aware of the existence of such practices among their native subordinates, and that they winked at them, because they knew that they could not effectually prevent them.

As to the constitution of our native army, it seems to us a matter of little moment to enquire whether it is the warrior-spirit or the soldier-spirit that animates our troops. One thing is certain, that hitherto they have been found capable of accomplishing the various tasks assigned to them, and that those who have seen most of their conduct in the past, have every confidence in their ability to meet all future demands that are likely to be made upon them.

And now we have done with the Baron B. de Penhoën. The chief characteristics of his book are presumptuous ignorance, —rendered all the more striking by its assuming the guise of a deep philosophy,—and deep-rooted malignity, which it is vainly attempted to hide under the cobweb veil of affected candour.

ART. III.—*Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government—No. IX. Report on the Teak Forests of the Tenasserim Provinces. By H. Falconer, M. D. F. R. S., Superintendent of the Honorable Company's Botanical Gardens, Calcutta; with other papers on the Teak Forests. Calcutta*, 1852.

WHEN once Forest Laws had ceased to be really Game Laws of a most oppressive description—when the old feudal sense of the term had nearly passed away, and the nation, rapidly developing its mercantile instincts, had become a maritime power of importance, it might have been expected that the Administration of the Department of Woods and Forests would have called forth attention, and that the very favor with which the wooden walls, which formed her strength, pride, and defence, were regarded, would have ensured that the oaken preserves, from which her fleets were supplied, met with the utmost care, and were under the most efficient regulation. Such, however, appears never to have been the case in England. Whether it were owing to the circumstance that the Forest Laws were never wholly disembarrassed of their feudal combination with vexatious Game Laws, the royal forests being even now partially under this sort of complicated jurisdiction, or whether it were that the spread of commerce and colonization, by affording peculiar facilities for the timber trade, appeared to open up such inexhaustible sources of supply, that the value of the national woods, from their comparatively insignificant extent, seemed scarcely worth the trouble of being well looked after,—certain it is, that maritime England, whose vessels of war, afloat and in ordinary, amount to about six hundred and fifty, bearing an armament of eighteen thousand pieces of artillery, and whose vessels, engaged in her foreign and coasting trade, baffle all attempts at correct estimation, will not stand comparison in her forest administration with some of the Continental nations, who have, in reality, very inferior motives for the conservancy of their forests. Even her rival and neighbour, France, surpasses England in this respect; for, although, by the law of the 7th August, 1850, the alienation of forests, to the amount of 50,000,000 francs, was determined, and in the President's Budget of 1852, the Minister of Finance was, in accordance with that law, authorized to alienate forests to the amount of 15,000,000 francs; yet, it is well known that the state is only parting with its least valuable tracts, and that the civil, military, and naval constructions of the Empire

are abundantly provided from the forests which remain under state management. Not so with the corresponding department of maritime England, whose "woods and forests" are become a proverb, whilst her dock-yards, in the matter of timber, as in almost all other points, betray an utter want of knowledge, forethought, economy, and system. One of the Parliamentary papers lately issued, tells its own story. Let it be remembered, that the number of vessels, afloat and in ordinary, is a known quantity; that the number of vessels on the stocks is also so; and that to the number of the new vessels, the construction of which is likely to be undertaken in any one year, whether of peace or war, a pretty correct approximation can be made—bearing these few simple facts in mind, look at the fluctuating amount of contracts for the supply of English oak timber to the Admiralty. In February, 1840, an agreement is made for 24,000 loads of timber; then it is reduced to 16,000; but, ultimately, a contract is made in 1841, for 13,812 loads; in 1843, for 20,000; in 1845, for only 2,625 loads; in 1846, for 20,000; in 1847, for 800 to 1,000; in 1848, for 5,000; in 1849, for 940; and in 1850, for 16,500 loads. Oscillations in the annual supply from 800 to 24,000 loads in times of peace, can only originate, either from want of system and ordinary arrangement, or else from gross jobbery. Where, however, an annual expenditure of from £5,200 to £156,000, for the single item, English oak, takes place in the dock-yards, over and above the value of the oak received from the Department of Woods and Forests, there would have been no harm in such a management of the latter, as should have secured that the cost of the oak from the King's Forests, instead of averaging £8-12-7 per load, should have been no higher than the average contract cost of £6-6 per load. In spite of the ominous forebodings of many, and the preparations of Napoleon III., we may still indulge the hope that "Britannia rules the Waves," but that she rules her dock-yards, or the fifteen royal forests, very few would be bold enough to assert. If the helmed Lady can, however, for a few minutes, lay aside her spear and shield, and dip into the volume whose title is given at the head of this article, she may derive some little consolation from the discovery, that her worthy progeny, Anglo-India, like a dutiful daughter, follows in the wake of so revered a parent, evincing no intention, by the display of a precocious and invidious wisdom, of shaming Madam Mother-Country.

We have been led into this digression from the fortuitous circumstance, that much about the same time that Lord Dun-

can was engaged in the agreeable task of exposing to the House of Commons the misrule and mismanagement prevalent in the Department of Woods and Forests, Dr. Falconer and Mr. W. R. Baillie appear to have been at work, drawing up Reports and compilations upon the subject of the teak forests of the Tenasserim Coast. Neither of these gentlemen, it is true, had exactly the same object in view that animated Lord Duncan; this, from their positions, was not to be expected. Incidentally, however, they reveal a good deal more than they express, and as the Bengal Government has considerately published these gentlemen's papers for general information, accompanied by a summary of papers relating to the Madras and Bombay forests, the public is afforded an insight into the Anglo-Indian administration of its Department of "Woods and Forests." The publication of this collection of papers is therefore well-timed, both with respect to our new appropriation, Pegu, and also with regard to the increased attention which the English public is, at the present conjuncture, giving to all East Indian affairs. For Pegu it is important that, at the moment when its elastic and indefinite boundary is made (conveniently enough) to comprise many a broad tract of goodly teak forest, the act of forest administration should be set forth, if not by an authoritative canon of successful administration, by the equally instructive warning of authentic failure; whilst, for England, it will be convenient to be furnished with an irrefragable instance of the amount of foresight and ability displayed by her Anglo-Indian administrators, superior and subordinate, in a department in which English management, as exemplified in the administration of the King's forests, has, in one sense, not only been rivalled, but surpassed.

Commencing then with the Madras and Bombay forests, the first in the order of time which came under the attention of the British authorities, we shall premise that the meaning of the compiler is not clear, when, alluding to the voluminous papers from these two Presidencies, he states that "the 'information they contain on the early history of the Madras 'and Bombay forests, is not so complete as that which has 'been obtained regarding the Tenasserim teak forests." Our earliest acquaintance with the latter forests only dates from the cession of the Tenasserim provinces under the treaty of Yandaboo, in 1826, and the reports of Dr. Wallich on the Salween and Attaran forests, in 1827; whereas our acquaintance with the Madras and Bombay teak forests is synchronous with that critical period, when the fall of Tippú made us masters in the South; and is therefore a good quarter of a

century anterior to our conquests from Burmah, and our connection with the forests on the Tenasserim coast. Accordingly, so early as 1800, we find the Court of Directors authorizing the assumption of the sovereignty, as it was termed, of the forests which had fallen under our jurisdiction :—

"The principal forest districts are those of Malabar, 'Canara, Travancore and Gúzerat, on the Western Coast of 'the Peninsula of Hindostan. There are also, in the neigh-'bourhood of Rajahmundry, on the eastern side of the Penin-'sula, extensive forests, which stretch inland in a westerly 'direction, towards the territories of the Nizam. The abun-'dant stores of excellent ship timber, which were supposed 'to exist in the Malabar forests, very early attracted the 'notice of the Bombay Government, to which the province 'of Malabar was subject for some years after its acquisition. 'At first the forests were regarded as private property, but 'shortly after, there appeared ground for believing that, during 'the dominion of Tippú Sahib, the right of felling timber 'had been (as it was up to 1840, in the neighbouring coun-'tries of Cochin and Travancore) an exclusively royal privilege. 'Accordingly, in August, 1800, the Court of Directors autho-'rized the Bombay Government to assume this right on behalf 'of the East India Company. The province of Malabar, 'having, however, been made subordinate to the Presidency 'of Fort St. George, the Court's instructions remained some 'time without effect. In 1805, the Bombay Government, to 'which the control of the forests had been intermediately 'restored, appointed commissioners of survey to ascertain the 'limits of what might be considered public forests, and to 'distinguish them from groves and plantations forming part 'of private estates. In 1806 an officer was appointed con-'servator, but it was not till the 20th April, 1807, that a pro-'clamation was issued, asserting the Company's right of 'sovereignty over the forests, and forbidding the felling of 'the timber by private individuals."

This assumption of the sovereignty of the forests, or royalty, by the orders of the Court of Directors, was an arbitrary act, in imitation of their predecessor Tippú, a person whose examples they might have been slow and circumspect in following. Further on, at page 203, we read :—"On the sub-'ject of royalty, Mr. Underwood states, that under the former 'Rajahs the trade was free, and the right of private indivi-'duals unfettered, the owners of forests working them or not, 'as they pleased—the only interference by the ruling autho-'rity being the levy of a small duty of about one rupee per

'candy. When Tippú Sahib took possession of the province 'of Malabar, he, in the exercise of his rights as conqueror, 'annihilated this private right, and created the forests into a 'monopoly, working them himself. From Tippú's own state- 'ment, it appears that, by this measure, he gained a revenue 'of Rupees 90,000 annually, exclusive of charges. He, 'however, so far recognized the rights of the proprietors as to 'make them an allowance of two fanams per tree of ten inches 'diameter. Tippú appears to have first assumed the roy- 'alty of the forests in 1784-5, and it is argued that, on the 'cession of the country by him, the Company's Government 'acquired the same rights, and, in fact, on the transfer of the 'territory, did assume and temporarily exercise those rights, 'but afterwards threw open the trade, and levied a duty of 'two rupees per candy. The monopoly, however, was re-esta- 'blished, first by the proclamation of the Collector in 1806, 'which prohibited the felling and exportation of timber; and, 'secondly, in the proclamation of the Madras Government, 'dated 25th April, 1807, wherein the sovereignty of the forests 'was assumed, and all persons prohibited from cutting or des- 'troying trees, or young plants, under the penalty of being 'treated as plunderers."

Considering that Malabar was ceded to us by Tippú, on the 18th March, 1792, when only seven years had elapsed since, in the exercise of what he deemed the rights of conquest, all private forest rights had been abrogated by that unscrupulous ruler, time can scarcely be said to have established a prescriptive right to the continuance of a measure, the act of an arbitrary despot; and it seems passing strange that it should have been adopted by the Court of Directors, for good policy pointed to the expediency of contrasting our rule with Tippú's, in the lately ceded districts, by respect for well established rights, and a reversion to a more conciliatory mode of administration than that which he had so lately introduced. It is true that the compiler (page 178) asserts "that the instructions 'of the Court of Directors of August, 1800, show that their 'object was to receive a regular supply of timber for public 'purposes, from unappropriated lands, to which alone the pro- 'clamation was intended to apply,"—but as the words, in which the instructions were conveyed, are not quoted, the validity of this apology for the conduct of the Court of Directors cannot well be admitted; for it is clear, that those who received the orders in question, did not thus comprehend them, but carried them into execution with as wide a scope, and as general an application as Tippú himself could have done; and what

is more, as militating strongly against this apology, they were long permitted, without check or hindrance, to act in conformity with their own reading of the instructions.

That the proclamation of 1807, which formed the basis of the conservator's authority, contained no definition of the term "sovereignty," and that the forests over which the sovereignty extended were not therein specified, appear but lame reasons for shifting responsibility from the shoulders of the Court of Directors and Bombay Government, to those of the conservator; particularly after having specially stated, that the rights which the Bombay Government were authorized to assume in behalf of the East India Company, were those which Tippú Sahib had exercised. A clearer and more matter-of-fact definition of the word "sovereignty" could not very well have been hit upon: and it is difficult to understand how, with such an unmistakeable comment on the meaning of this comprehensive term, the conservator can be alleged to have assumed much larger powers than were entrusted to him. Still more difficult is it to comprehend how, under the supposition that he had exceeded his powers, the conservator was not at once checked, instead of being allowed, for twelve years, to carry on operations which are thus described by the compiler.

"But the conservator, acting upon his own views on these 'points, succeeded, in a short time, in establishing a monopoly of 'all the timber of the two provinces of Malabar and Travan-'core. He cut down and appropriated to the use of the Com-'pany, not only the trees of the private forests, but even those 'growing on cultivated lands, paying revenue to Government, 'while the proprietor himself, unless expressly permitted by 'the conservator, was prevented from cutting a piece of wood 'on his own property, or removing the young seedling plants 'that were injuring his land. It does not clearly appear whe-'ther any payment was made to the proprietor for the timber 'taken by the conservator from his estate, but he was obliged, 'nevertheless, to pay duty upon the timber growing upon his 'own property, when he made use of any of it for his own 'purposes. The trade in timber was almost annihilated, 'for even if the merchant could obtain the conservator's per-'mission to purchase private timber not required by Govern-'ment, he had no longer the same means of disposing of it, 'its exportation having been prohibited soon after the esta-'blishment of the new system. Finally, the peasantry were 'deprived of the privilege of cutting wood for fuel and other 'ordinary purposes, a privilege which they had enjoyed from 'time immemorial, and which was stated to be particularly

'prized in the rainy climate of Malabar, where large buildings 'are required by the peasants, for the protection of themselves 'and their property."

It is clear, that measures of the kind here depicted, could not be carried on by the conservator for a dozen years, without the co-operation of other departments, and the sanction of superior authority; and therefore we cannot approve of the attempt to cast the onus of such hyper-Tippú-an measures upon the luckless conservator, Captain Watson, whom the compiler would make, in lieu of the Court of Directors and the Local Government, a propitiatory sacrifice to the *odium publicum*. A revulsion came at last, however, in favor of the victims of this strain upon the "royalty" prerogative. The office of conservator, and the whole prohibitive system, not even excepting its operation in the forests which were indubitably Government property, were swept away in 1822, as inconsiderately and unconditionally as Tippú's Forest Code had been adopted in 1800. Rajas and landholders recovered their ancient possessions, and permission being granted by Government, to any one, on the payment of a small duty, to fell and carry away timber *ad libitum*, there was a ten years' run upon the forests, before Government began to apprehend that they had passed from one extreme to another, and that the profitless devastation of the forests was proceeding with a rapidity that, unless measures were promptly taken, must speedily "issue (to use the compiler's words) in the entire dissolution of the forests."

In 1830, therefore, the reaction commenced. The Bombay Government called upon the Indian Navy Board to submit a report on the Malabar forests, with a view to arrangements being made for their preservation and improvement, and that body recommended the re-appointment of a conservator, "whose 'attention should be solely devoted to the preservation of the 'forests, on the same principle as that part of the duty of the 'conservator was formerly exercised." We have shewn what those principles had been, and how they were exercised; it is therefore not very surprising that the Bombay Government took to consulting the Madras Government on the subject;—nor is it more so, that the latter transferred the correspondence, in 1831, to their Board of Revenue, for "consideration and report." Having lodged the question safely with an Indian Board, where of course it slept securely for six years, that is, until 1837, we must now turn to the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, to trace what was doing about this time with the teak forests of our newly acquired possessions, the provinces lopped off in 1826 from the Burman Empire.

In 1827, Dr. Wallich, the Superintendent of the Honorable Company's Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, having been deputed to examine and report upon the resources of the Tenasserim provinces generally, but especially upon their available supplies of timber, ascended the Salween and Attaran rivers, and after examining some of the forest tracts upon their banks, lost no time in submitting to Government the information he had collected, and the opinions he had formed.

Para 32.—" On the 25th April Dr. Wallich submitted his ' report to Government, and at the same time forwarded a ' copy of it to Sir Archibald Campbell, whose attention he ' called, particularly, to the value and importance of the teak ' timber resources of the province, and to the necessity of ' measures being adopted *by the Government*, for their preserva- ' tion and extension. On these subjects the opinions and sug- ' gestions of Dr. Wallich are especially deserving of notice, as ' they show that he foresaw how the forests would be exhaust- ' ed, by the very causes which afterwards produced that result. ' His views and suggestions will be found in the following ' paragraphs, which have been taken from his letter to Sir ' Archibald Campbell. After stating that the forests con- ' tained extensive supplies of excellent teak, which had been ' proved, by experiments, to be better adapted for gun-carriages ' than the teak of Malabar and Java, and that the country ' afforded very great natural facilities, by land and water, for ' transporting the timber to the seaports, Dr. Wallich wrote: ' ' No forest exists which can, with propriety, be called in- ' exhaustible,—at least none that is liable to constant and ' extensive demands for timber. The quantity of teak used ' for public purposes, both military and naval, is so great, and ' it will go on increasing to so great an extent, in proportion ' as new sources of supply are opened, that the Martaban ' forests, ample as they are, would be soon impoverished, ' unless they were placed under a vigilant and strict super- ' intendence, their supplies regulated with economy, and ' their extent gradually augmented. I hope I take a correct ' view of the case if I consider all the teak forests which ' grow in these provinces, as the exclusive property of the ' state, applicable only to public uses, and not to be interfer- ' ed with by any private individual whatever. Unless this ' principle be acted upon from the very outset, I will venture ' to predict that private enterprise will, very soon, render ' fruitless all endeavors to perpetuate the supplies for the ' public service, and one of the principal and most certain ' sources of revenue will thus be irrevocably lost. The most

'important step towards establishing a proper system for the 'management of the forests, and without which all others can 'be of no avail, will be a public declaration to the above effect, 'strictly prohibiting all persons, not duly authorized, from cut- 'ting down any of the trees. But this done, the detail of the 'future management may be accomplished with comparatively 'trifling expense, and with little trouble.

"'In the first instance, it will be proper to cut down all the 'full-sized teaks as soon as ever it is possible, in order that a 'large consignment of valuable timbers might be speedily 'realized, and room afforded for supplying fresh additions to 'the number of trees in the forests. All the young and un- 'der-sized trees should be allowed to stand unmolested, and 'their growth facilitated; any individual among them which 'was found decayed, should be at once cut down. Every 'other description of trees, in the least interfering with the 'teak, ought to be removed, so far as this would be compatible 'with safety, with reference to the necessary shelter from high 'winds. The places vacated by all these thinnings and fell- 'ings, ought to be forthwith supplied by seedlings, which will 'spontaneously spring up under the teak trees in every direc- 'tion, and which should be allowed to grow up, only removing, 'from time to time, such among them as stand in the way of 'others, or do not promise to become good trees. I will go 'one step further, and recommend that the limits of the na- 'tural forests themselves should be extended, and that some 'of the high tracts of land, so well adapted for the growth of 'teak, which are to be met with in such abundance along the 'rivers, should be converted into plantations. It may, at first 'sight, perhaps, appear premature to propose the adoption of 'an undertaking, the expediency of which is not supported by 'immediate urgency, and the ultimate benefit of which cannot 'be realized within half a century or more. To these two 'objections the answer is very simple—the first of them ap- 'plies to many other public undertakings, which would prove 'the more beneficial, for not being procrastinated until the 'unwelcome day of necessity. The second objection is appli- 'cable to plantations of all other sorts of timber trees, with 'this advantage in favor of plantations in India, that they are 'reared with less expense and trouble than those in Europe, 'and become, in general, available in half the time required 'by them. Millions of money would have been saved to 'Great Britain, if, by early attending to the importance of 're-inforcing and enlarging the internal resources of timber, 'the necessity of foreign importation had been superseded.

'Surprising as it may be, the fact is not the less true, that 'our Indian forests of standard timber have, within the last 'twenty years, become very perceptibly deteriorated; the 'forests, which were looked upon as holding forth the pros- 'pect of unceasing supplies, have become exhausted, and even 'the vast saul forests of Hindostan have begun, of late, to fail. 'It is a circumstance worthy of being remarked here, that 'this tree, the saul, grows perfectly wild at Moulmein.'"

There could be no doubt, whatever, of the correctness of Dr. Wallich's view as to the forests being state property; here it was no question of accepting and acting upon a Tippú-code of forest appropriation and "sovereignty;" large tracts of wooded wilds, abounding with valuable timber, and in which the sound of the axe had scarcely been heard, had fallen into our hands, unembarrassed by a single claim upon the "royalty." In fact, the laws and customs of the country established the "royalty;" for numerous as were the canoes of Burmans and Peguers, not a tree was cut down in the forests, with the view of being turned into a canoe, without written permission being first obtained from the local authorities. A wild and timid race, who wandered about in the mountain ranges, and shunned contact with their Burman oppressors, proved, indeed, not easily amenable to this law, for they would clear and burn patches of forest, in order to raise a crop of rice, wherever the site suited their fancies; and their nomadic habits rendered this migratory mode of culture more destructive to the forests than would otherwise have been the case, as the numbers of the Karen population was small; still, as the places best adapted for a stray patch of rice cultivation were not those where the best teak was to be found, the injury done was not very serious. The Government, therefore, had a clear field, unencumbered by the consideration of vested rights; with the prophetic warnings of Dr. Wallich, borne out by the experience resulting from the saul forests of Hindostan, and corroborated by the result of the no-code system, which had replaced the Tippú code in the Malabar forests, there was nothing to prevent, and much to induce the Bengal Government to organize a suitable Forest Code, and a system of management that should preserve the state property from rapid exhaustion or utter destruction.

Government measures, however, afforded no indication that the dear-bought experience acquired in other parts of India, was to be turned to advantage on an occasion in every respect so favorable for its application. Dr. Wallich, whatever his merits as a botanist, was, evidently, not much of a practical timber-cutter, and he formed the ludicrous idea of proceeding

with an artillery sergeant and six pioneers, at the beginning of the monsoon, up the Attaran river, with the view of felling and floating to Moulmein a supply of teak timber, that was to be despatched to Calcutta, "in order to enable the Govern-'ment to decide on the expediency of having, at Moulmein, 'such an establishment as that which he had recommended," namely a Commissariat Timber Yard. This initiatory step was thoroughly impracticable, both as to means and season, and betrayed no great knowledge of wood-craft in Burmah. Although his experimental measures were laughable, Dr. Wallich's general views were sound; and Government, approving of his researches, so far acted on his suggestions, as to direct Mr. Maingy, the lately appointed Civil Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces, to hold the forests as Government property, and to protect them from depredation or injury by individuals. These instructions being rather vague, Mr. Maingy solicited more specific orders for his guidance in the management and working of the forests. He was of opinion, that the forests were, by no means, so extensive as to be considered inexhaustible, that the plan of extending them would be difficult in a country over-run with elephants, and that, instead of incurring the expense of establishments for preserving them for the sole use of Government, the most advisable course would be "to issue licenses to private individuals, to cut timber, on 'condition of paying to Government a duty of ten or fifteen 'per cent. upon the value of the timber, when brought down 'for exportation, the value to be fixed by arbitration, and it 'being always optional with Government to take any portion 'of the timber at such valuation." Mr. Maingy also suggested that "a general and equal duty of a certain sum upon 'each tree cut, would be a good mode of preventing the small-'er and less valuable trees from being cut down;" and that "a regulation also, confiscating all timber cut under specified 'dimensions, would tend to preserve the young trees." Whether it were that Government took alarm at the prospect of its conservancy of forests having to come into conflict with Mr. Maingy's ideal swarms of elephants, or that they doubted which were likely to prove the most destructive and unmanageable, the wild elephants or the license bearers, they put off decision under the convenient plea, "that the matter would 'be considered on the receipt of further information." Having thus shelved the matter satisfactorily for a while, they left Mr. Maingy to act on the original orders, under which he made the costly and very ill-managed experiment of sending a cargo of 511 logs of teak from Tavoy to Calcutta. What

led him to select Tavoy for the experiment, is not explained; it may have been dread of the elephants, or any other equally weighty reason, but whatever it was, Tavoy was manifestly a bad selection, and the cargo, when sold in Calcutta by public auction, instead of covering expenses, showed a loss on the transaction of about Rs. 250. After all, this was no great loss on a first and ill-conducted experiment, but the failure is stated to have induced the economical Government of the day to adopt Mr. Maingy's repeated suggestions, to throw open the forests to private individuals, on the terms of rules much in accordance with what we have stated above as Mr. Maingy's original proposals. He was accordingly authorized, in May, 1829, to carry this measure into effect; but as Government had, apparently, found themselves all adrift upon the subject, they were considerately inclined to afford the Commissioner every latitude, not only in departing from their own original instructions, based on Dr. Wallich's suggestions, but also in wandering from his own proposals, if he pleased; for licenses might be granted either on the terms of his rules of 1829, or with such modifications of them as he might deem it expedient to make. From this time,—the Government having thus evaded its own duty of definite legislation on the subject of the forests, and shifted the responsibility of doing so to the shoulders of the Commissioner,—uncontrolled felling of teak commenced; and we shall presently see that the work of destruction advanced with much the same rapidity and result as had been the case under somewhat analogous circumstances in the Malabar forests, when the no-code system succeeded Tippú's. Indeed, Mr. Maingy himself appears to have modified his views as to conservancy, and though, of course, still advocating his own mode of administering the forests, to have become aware that there was an imperative necessity for counteracting the unchecked felling and portage of timber; for, in 1833, he obtained the sanction of Government to entertain a conservancy establishment, consisting of one head man and eight or ten coolies, for the purpose of planting and rearing teak seedlings, and to see that the wood-cutters, who were employed in the forests by the holders of lehmats or licenses, felled the teak trees fairly, and did no damage to the forests. The establishment might, with equal propriety, so far as efficient performance of its avowed duty was concerned, have been entertained for the purpose of catching, and taming, and educating the herds of wild elephants which had formed Mr. Maingy's bug-bear in 1829, for a glance at the map of the Tenasserim provinces, or at that which accompanies the volume of Selections under notice, will

satisfy any one as to the ridiculous inadequacy of such a measure, and also as to the accuracy of a remark in a former No. of this *Review*, that "the conservancy establishment of one forester and eight or ten coolies was not well calculated efficiently to enforce any set of rules: and the revocation of permits for abuse of trust and destruction of forests could not well be enforced, when the forests were unvisited by any European functionaries, and no pains were taken to ascertain the conduct of the parties holding the permits." Matters, however, were permitted to remain in this state, (notwithstanding that "Mr. Blundell became alive to the necessity of affording 'some degree of protection to the long neglected forests, and in '1837 suggested a revocation of permits and the establishment 'of a conservancy department,)" until 1841—that is, closely following the example set them by the Bombay Government, which had allowed, from 1822 to 1837, or fifteen years of unchecked license in its forests,—the Bengal Government, with like energy and vigilance, granted fifteen years of uncontrolled and unscrupulous destruction of forests, *i. e.*, from 1826 to 1841; in both cases, after a fifteen years' liberty of exhaustion, a pretence to grapple with the subject was made, and we must now proceed to examine how, on the part of both Governments, this was done. For this purpose we revert to the Malabar forests, which we left in the limbo of the Madras Revenue Board, where, after a refreshing nap of upwards of six years, the subject of their management was again mooted. The revival of the question originated, it must be observed, from foreign influence, and not from the spontaneous activity of the administrated functions of that valuable body, for it would be difficult to surmise the period of undisturbed repose, which the Malabar forest question might have enjoyed on the shelves of the Madras Revenue Board, had there been no movement from the side of the Resident of Travancore. When that gentleman, in September 1837, addressed the Madras Government respecting the forests in the province of Travancore, and led that Government to give the Board of Revenue a gentle flapper with regard to the letter of 22nd April, 1831; again, with exquisite and exemplary patience, requesting the Board's consideration of the general question of adopting measures for the security and improvement of the timber forests, the reply of the active Board, on the 26th October following,—"to the 'effect that the attention of the authorities on the Mala-'bar coast had been especially directed to the subject, 'and that on receipt of information from them, the Board 'would not fail to submit their sentiments on the measures

'required for the preservation and improvement of the forests,"—must have proved singularly satisfactory to the Government. Close upon seven years had passed, during which time the forests were, of course, on the no-code diet of exhaustion; and yet the Board, after such a protracted spell of mature consideration, were still avowedly as far as ever from having arrived at any opinions, or formed any sentiments that they could state. In September, 1838, the Board was at length delivered of the report, on the hatching of which so much deliberation had taken place. The result of this tedious incubation was in no wise proportionate to the time that the operation had taken: the Board wrote, with the reports before them, of the Principal Collector of Malabar, of Mr. Monro, the Conservator of the Travancore forests, of Captain Cortlandt Taylor, of the Acting Principal Collector of Canara, and of the Collector of Rajahmundry; but as there was great variety of opinion among these gentlemen, the Board were puzzled. The Malabar Collector was a stickler for private rights, and objected to any interference, beyond the imposition of a heavy duty on all teak timber measuring under three candies. Mr. Monro, on the other hand, writing from his own personal observation, and the experience of nearly twenty years in the woods, was for the Travancore system, where the teak was considered the property of Government, and a conservator had always been employed for its preservation and improvement; pointing out that "the system of throwing open teak forests to all who wish to cut, or giving them to contractors, is in the highest degree *ruinous*. They cut indiscriminately all that comes in their way; any range of forest, however extensive, would be destroyed, if left to their tender mercies. They never think of planting, and all that such speculators calculate on, is present profit or loss, without troubling their heads about depriving future generations of the benefit *they now enjoy*. The teak forests in Malabar are, I am told, in this predicament, and if the British Government do not oblige them to plant, and also leave some large trees here and there for seed, this valuable tree will be extinct. There are two ranges of hills in our forests, that were formerly rented to a Parsi, and if the contract had not been taken from him before it was too late, he would not have left a teak tree standing. It will take forty or fifty years before the forests recover the effects of his avarice." Captain Taylor was for prohibiting the felling of trees below a certain girth in the Malabar forests, under direct penalty, or by a high additional duty. In the teak forests of Canara, the Collector reported that Government had assumed

the sovereignty of the forests, and that persons were prevented felling trees without permission. The Rajahmundry Collector reported that the forests were seventy miles beyond the extreme frontier of his district, and in the territory of the Nizam, and that he could therefore give but scant information. Amid these somewhat conflicting views, the Board came to the conclusion that, "with reference to the measures to be adopted 'for the preservation and conservancy of the teak forests, that 'interference, if at all necessary, should be exercised through 'the channel of the revenue officers, and not through 'a conservator, with distinct and independent authority. 'That the Collector of Malabar might be required to issue 'local orders, requiring all landholders to obtain permission 'previous to the felling and indiscriminate cutting of timber, as 'in Canara, and might be authorized to take such steps as seem-'ed necessary to prevent the cutting of small timber and un-'der-sized trees, with a view to the preservation of this valuable 'product, as well as to secure a future supply by planting and 'protecting young trees. Regarding the Rajahmundry forests 'the Revenue Board said nothing."

Having tried one Board with such encouraging rapidity and success, it was evidently advisable to try another, so the question at this stage was referred to the Madras Military Board for their views, whilst the Resident at Travancore, and the principal Collector at Malabar, were again addressed. The Military Board deputed Lieut. Miller into Canara, there to collect information *de novo*.

Reports now began to be plentiful, for the Bombay Government was moving, upon the spur of their Commissary General; and in June, 1838, Captain Harris of the Indian Navy submitted a report on the Malabar forests. In the same month a report from Lieut. Thresher, and a letter from Mr. J. Fell, were added to the list; but as there was great diversity of opinion in these communications, the Bombay Government, instead of acting, had recourse to the usual expedient. Copies of the reports were forwarded to the Court of Directors, as also to the Government of Madras, for any suggestions or arrangements which that Government could make, calculated to assist in obtaining the required supplies of timber. The Madras Government, of course, made the whole over again to the Revenue Board, who sagaciously pointed out to Government where Mr. Fell and Lieut. Thresher agreed or disagreed in their views, and concluded that, as both were against contracts, and for an agency, therefore, *if* a duly qualified agent were appointed to inspect personally, and report upon the extent and condition of the timber, much

benefit might be anticipated from his labors; and that *if* the continuance of the then existing system was leading to the speedy exhaustion of the forests, and *if*, as Mr. Pell stated, the free trade in timber had been anything but a benefit to the country, no time should be lost in taking steps to reform a system which must ultimately prove so injurious to the interests of the province, in the destruction of one of its most valuable products.

It is clear that the Madras Government, although possessed of the wisdom of their Revenue Board, sublimated into the three preceding "ifs," were at a loss how to proceed, and might have continued lucubrating upon the responses of their oracle for an indefinite period, had not a step, taken by the Bombay Government, enabled them ostensibly to do something towards escaping out of this dilemma. The Government of Bombay, pressed by the Superintendent of the Indian Navy, Sir R. Oliver, had, at the end of January, 1839, deputed Lieut. Williams to the coast of Malabar, to secure a supply of timber for building steamers; and as a request was at the same time made, that the revenue authorities of the coast should be directed to render every assistance, the Madras Government seized the opportunity to suggest that Lieut. Williams should be also "entrusted with the duty of obtaining more accurate in-'formation respecting the state of the forests and their re-'sources," avowing, that as regarded the Malabar forests and their proper management, nothing decisive towards that end had been done, in consequence of the limited nature of the information that had been supplied by the local officers on the coast, as well as of the difficulties which seemed to stand in the way of such improvement.

Mr. Farish, the Governor of Bombay, seemed inclined to deal with the subject in earnest, and on the 4th April, 1839, recorded a Minute, advocating the location permanently of an agent on the Malabar coast; a survey of forests, to distinguish Government from private property; and the purchase of the "royalty" or forest rights, where desirable, either on Captain Watson's plan of 1807-8, or in some other way. He defined what he meant by the term "royalty or forest rights," he disapproved of the high export duty proposed by Captain Taylor, with the view of making it the interest of proprietors to fell large, rather than small timber; and stated his opinion:—"We are now, 'in 1839, perceiving the effect of the retrograde movement of '1821, and it will not be till the approach of 1860, that the 'advantage of any changes now adopted will be well appreci-'ated," and that, therefore, the measures to be adopted "must